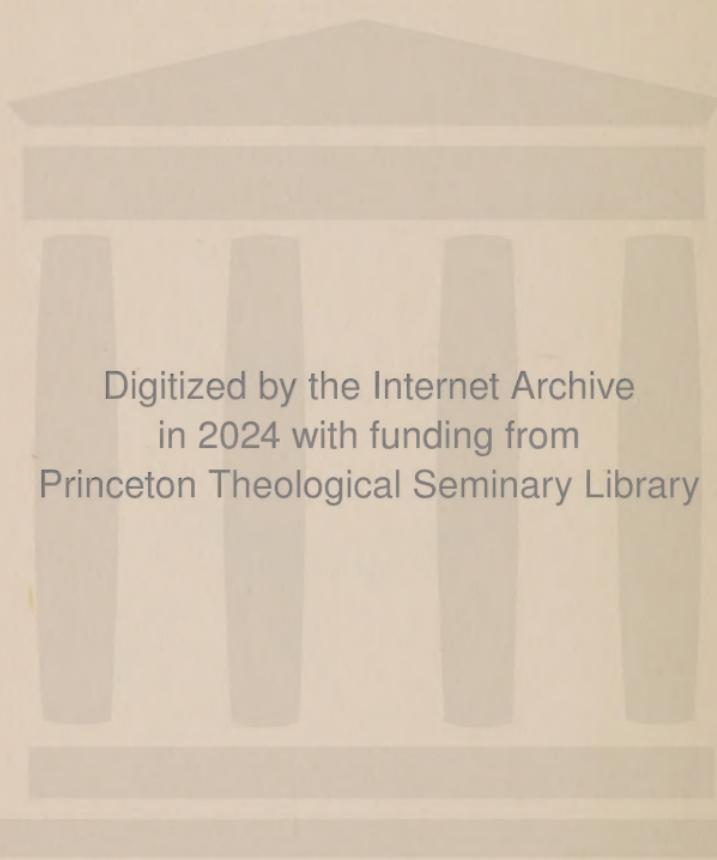




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Philip Mercer Rhinelander



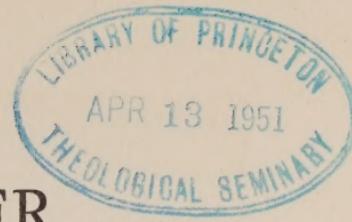
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Philip Mercer Rhinelander



Percy Walk Photo

PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER



PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER

*Seventh Bishop of Pennsylvania
First Warden of the College of Preachers*

by

HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN

MOREHOUSE-GORHAM CO.

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1950

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To
Helen Hamilton Rhinelander

Foreword

IN HIS RETIRING messages to the Diocese of Pennsylvania and to the College of Preachers, Philip Mercer Rhinelander has clearly stated the dominant motive of his ministry. His last words to the diocese were: "Hold to the historic faith which has made the Church triumphant in the past. Trust not to incompetent leaders. Fix your goal and be true to the traditions of the Church. Dare to be conservative; dare to hold fast whatever of the past years you have of faith, wisdom, courage, chivalry, honor." His last words to the college were: "that the watch-word of the college, through all the years, may be the great word 'catholic,' in its true sense as in the creeds, with no qualifying adjectives or adverbs, rescued from all partisan and controversial uses. Catholicity means much more than 'tolerance', more than 'comprehensiveness' . . . It stands for wholeness over against partialness. It is opposed to disproportion, distortion, dislocation. These have brought distress, disunity, and weakness on the Church, grievously hindering its mission . . . We have tried to declare, with St. Paul, 'the whole counsel of God,' not merely those fragments of it which have laid hold of the minds and imaginations of groups or individuals."

His early training pointed in this doctrinal direction, and whether as parish priest, professor, diocesan bishop, or warden, he openly stood for "the whole counsel of God."

His disappointments came from seeing groups and individuals fall short of it. His more sympathetic professional friendships and institutional loyalties were with those who frankly, fearlessly, and gladly represented it.

H. B. W.

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Philip Mercer Rhinelander

CHAPTER I

The Family

PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER was born on June 13, 1869. After some years spent in his childhood homes of New York and Newport, he followed his brothers' example and went to St. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire. At eighteen years of age he entered Harvard University, graduating in 1891, followed by a short year at the Harvard Law School. After a year at the General Theological Seminary in New York, he pursued his theological education at Oxford University, receiving his degree in 1896. Returning to the United States, he was ordained to the Diaconate in Calvary Church, New York, and later to the Priesthood in the Diocese of Washington, remaining there in the parochial ministry until 1903. During the following four years he was a professor at the Berkeley Divinity School, then in Middletown, Connecticut, and for the next four years a professor at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Elected Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1911, and succeeding to the full episcopal title within a few months, the next twelve years were given to the diocese. In 1923 he resigned. Within a short time he was appointed first warden of the College of Preachers in the cathedral close in Wash-

ington. Retiring in 1937, he died on September 21, 1939.

He was the youngest of nine children—four sons and five daughters, one son dying in infancy. With this exception, Philip's generation was long-lived. Historical records and domestic tradition tell the following story about their forebears—Philip Jacob Rhinelander, the founder of the family in America, embarked at Rotterdam in the early summer of 1727 on the ship *William and Sarah*, William Hill being Master. The ship arrived at Philadelphia, September 14, 1727. The Colony of Pennsylvania required that an oath of allegiance to the King be taken by the passengers and the forty-sixth name on the list is "Philip Jacob Rhinelander." He seems to have settled in New Rochelle, New York, about 1737, although his name does not appear in the town records until 1742. It is supposed that he came from a Huguenot family in the Palatinate, and at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Palatinate at that time belonging to France, his family moved into Holland and remained in that country until the time that Philip Jacob Rhinelander sailed for America. Three Philips appear in the genealogy, not including Philip Mercer.

Philip Mercer Rhinelander's father, Frederic William, and his mother, Frances Skinner, were people of excellent position in New York and Newport, the former their city, the latter their summer home. His father was of high professional and philanthropic standing, well-known for his public spirit. His mother's sympathies with her husband's pursuits were deep and wide. However, she found her greater happiness when at home with her husband and children. Both were deeply religious, both communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church and among the most

active in the affairs of their winter and summer parishes.

The Rhinelander brothers and sisters were true to their religious and philanthropic inheritance. Frederic and Thomas took their parts personally and financially in ecclesiastical and charitable institutions. After their father's death Frederic cared for the family property. Thomas was an active practising lawyer, associated with the best of the legal brotherhood. Philip's sisters, every one of them, shared similar religious and charitable interests, some of them taking an active part in charities of national importance. Father, mother, and children were gentlefolk, courteous among themselves, as well as among acquaintances and friends, treating one another with continuous respect.

As the years passed, the family, as a whole, became a somewhat cosmopolitan group, thoroughly at home not only in New York and Newport, but also in England and on the continent. As a family, and as individuals, they frequently spent a summer or a longer period abroad. It might almost be said that after the children had reached manhood and womanhood, the various members of the family were hardly ever simultaneously on this side of the Atlantic. One of the daughters married a Welshman, making her home in the north of Wales. Family letters are postmarked from many cities of western Europe and England. From boyhood until his death Philip's world was a very wide one. After his own country, England was the most precious part of it.

The family's associations were as international as their travels. Within the United States they counted among their congenial acquaintances those of leading position in Church and State. Their immediate responsibilities had of

course to do with New York and Newport, although their keen sense of religious, charitable, and civic obligation carried them out into a larger area. Abroad they moved freely among Churchmen of eminence as well as among men and women of the scholarly and diplomatic world. As a student and later during his professional years, Philip was a representative member of this stimulating domestic group.

The Church, especially the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Church of England, meant much to the Rhinelanders, also to those connected with them by marriage. From boyhood and throughout his life Philip was brought into the closest connection with it. As a child and young man much of his ecclesiastical satisfaction was centered in his rector, later to be his bishop—Henry Yates Satterlee. From 1882 to 1896, in other words from the time Philip was thirteen years old until he was twenty-seven, Dr. Satterlee was the rector of Calvary Church, New York, the parish to which the Rhinelanders belonged. The period spanned the years when Philip was at St. Paul's School, Harvard, the General Theological Seminary, and Oxford. When he returned to the United States in 1896, Philip was to find that his rector had become the first Bishop of Washington, that he was to be one of his clergy, and that their close friendship was to continue until the Bishop's death in 1908.

In the meantime the relationship between the Rhinelanders and Dr. Satterlee had been close. The family as a whole had warmly supported their rector in his conception of a parish, and they had taken their part in the achievement of his ideals. They had boundless respect for his common sense, his ability, and his character. They shared his

theological and ecclesiastical opinions. Like him, they were strong, not ritualistic, Churchmen. Like him they believed that the traditional Anglican theories of the Church, the Sacraments and the Ministry, were a consequence of rich spiritual experience and of clear and sound thinking. In fact, their rector satisfied them in every particular.

When Mr. Satterlee was called to Calvary Church in 1882 to succeed Dr. Edward A. Washburn, he was in doubt whether the vestry were as familiar as they ought to be with his religious views. Therefore he went to New York for an interview with the parish officers. He told them that before any definite decision was made it was important that they should have a frank talk, leaving thereby no room for misunderstanding on either side. "I thought," he said, "that I ought to meet you face to face. You may wish a great preacher. I am not one. You may want a Low Churchman. I am not a Low Churchman. I give you back your call." That was engaging frankness. Needless to say the call was not withdrawn, even though many of the people of Calvary were of a lower and more evangelical type of Churchmanship. Needless to say also that mutual respect was fixed and permanent. Some years later the Rhinelander and Satterlee families were brought even more closely together by the marriage of Dr. Satterlee's daughter, Constance, to Philip's brother Frederic.

Philip's mother died in 1899, his father in 1904, when Philip was thirty and thirty-five respectively. Their sympathy with him and his with them was wide and deep. Throughout his life his affectionate association with his brothers and sisters was constant. Possibly his relation with his sister "Minnie," Mrs. William Rives, was closer than that

with any other member of the family. From Oxford days until her death, some years before his own, a constant stream of letters flowed between them. She was not only the oldest sister and oldest child of the family, with the natural inclination to care for the younger members and especially for Philip the youngest, but her mind and her major concerns were akin to his. She was remarkably well-read, especially in theology, she and Philip frequently exchanging books of mutual interest. She was also keenly alive to the religious and theological moods of the day. More, much more, than with his brothers and other sisters, he shared with her his thought and feeling; he laid before her even his tentative plans; he seldom took an important step without asking her counsel.

Dr. Rives and Philip were also very close. Although Dr. Rives's views were frequently transmitted through his wife, yet he and Philip were of one mind, together discussing not only matters of religion, but also others of general moment, and Dr. Rives frequently asked Philip's advice in regard to his contributions to charities. The Rives house in Washington was a second home to Philip and his family, particularly during the years of the Pennsylvania episcopate and the College of Preachers wardenship.

And their oldest son Frederic made the Rives house his week-end home during his years at the cathedral school on Mt. St. Alban. It may be that at that time he felt his first urge toward medicine and surgery, for he says that he used to browse among his uncle's medical books. After Mrs. Rives' death it was only natural that Dr. Rives should ask Philip and his wife to live with him. They were glad to make their home with so congenial a brother-in-law and

in a house filled with an admirably chosen library and pervaded with every sign of refinement. When Dr. Rives died he bequeathed to them his property.

The Newport home of the Rhinelanders was simple and well-appointed, not at all like the "palaces" which were being built during the days of Philip's boyhood and young manhood, and from which Newport gets its somewhat garish reputation. The Rhinelander name was seldom mentioned among those whose lavish entertainment was a prominent item in the daily papers. Their house was on a quiet street; their kind of life was modest and public-spirited. They willingly took their part in the religious life of the city. As time went on, for some of them, Newport became more their home than New York. The family burial lot is there, and there Philip now rests with his forebears.

During Philip's ministry in Washington, between 1896 and 1903, he lived either in a clergy house or in bachelor's quarters. For the first year of his professorship at the Berkeley Divinity School, he had his own rooms in a school building. After his marriage in 1904, he and his wife had their own private house. It was the beginning of more than thirty years of domestic happiness and hospitality.

Philip was thirty-five years old when he married Helen Hamilton, better known as Daisy. As her name might suggest, she is a descendant of Alexander Hamilton, a brilliant public servant, a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Constitution of the United States, a Secretary of the Treasury under Washington, Aaron Burr's victim in a duel. Her stock, therefore, has its proud traditions. The spirit of noblesse oblige was there to reinforce Philip's

conception of social and religious responsibility. Their married life represented an ideal of matrimony. Their homes were well equipped and hospitable. Friends and family turned toward them assured of genuine welcome. Wherever the homes happened to be, a spirit of affection and peace prevailed. Philip was proud of his wife. His attitude toward her was invariably chivalrous. Neither husband nor wife trespassed on the freedom of the other. Although of dissimilar disposition and temperament she understood her husband well. She was thoroughly alive, not only to his normal frame of mind, but also to his moods and occasional eccentricities, and with her exquisite sense of humor she could, at the right time, and invariably without offence, bring him back to normalcy.

Three sons were born to them—Frederic William, Philip Hamilton, and Laurens Hamilton. Frederic went to St. Alban's School in the cathedral close in Washington, afterward, for a year, to Kent School in Connecticut. Philip and Laurens were at Kent for all their preparatory school years. Frederic and Philip graduated from Harvard in the same year, Laurens a few years later; Frederic studied medicine at Harvard and Oxford, while Philip and Laurens graduated from the Harvard Law School, Laurens graduating also from the University of Cambridge,—all with excellent standing. At the time of their father's death in 1939, Frederic gave promise of ability in orthopaedic surgery and his brothers in the law. More recently Philip has returned to his first love, philosophy, and is now a member of that department in Harvard, while Laurens is on the Law School faculty of the University of Virginia.

Frederic is now practising and teaching in the state of California. Their father had reason to be proud of his sons.

Whether as professor, as bishop, or as warden, Philip was his sons' playmate and companion. Owing to a heart weakness he was unable to join with them in tennis and baseball, or to swim with them, but as his knowledge of these sports was thorough and keen his sympathetic participation was hearty. Together they went to many a professional ball game and to many a national and international tennis match.

In regard to his interest in sports one of his sons writes: "Father was always eager to engage in the limited amount of physical activity he was allowed in view of his heart. . . . he used to play golf left-handed, having, I believe, had some trouble with his right shoulder. . . . certainly a tribute to his interest in the sport. . . . How frequently he would go to sleep during the afternoon on the sofa in the Gloucester study to the soothing (?) voice of Fred Hoey, the announcer of Boston Braves and Red Sox baseball games! He also used to follow the World Series games closely, and I have an example of a complete score-card of a game which he sent me over in England. He used to love to go to games himself in Philadelphia, where he was pleased to be given a free pass to the games of the Philadelphia Athletics. He was also much interested in the games and contests of us three boys. He would eagerly watch as the sail-boats raced by in front of our house in Gloucester, or off the shore at Marblehead during the annual race-week there, and would show a keen interest in all the details of each race at the dinner table afterward." The same son adds that his father was an enthusiast over

indoor sports: "He loved to do Crossword Puzzles and the somewhat erudite 'Double Crosstics.' He frequently joined in our parlor games of an evening when his desk did not beckon him, as it frequently did somewhat to mother's dismay. When he did play, whether it was Mah Jongg, or a card game he was always an eager participant. He certainly instilled into his family the essence of good sportsmanship, and was the perfect good loser!"

At the family table the conversation would be full of lively talk, sheer fun, and nonsense. As everyone who has lunched or dined with them will remember, the boys' father would put puzzles, conundrums, riddles, to family and guests in rapid succession, and, as a son writes: "I have very pleasant memories of his stories, ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, told at the dinner table and elsewhere, with an unfailing sense of humor."

Music was also a buoyant bond of union between father and sons: "Another of my fond memories is Father's love of music, especially in the lighter vein. He would love to sit down at the piano and play and sing choruses from Gilbert and Sullivan operettas with unbounded enthusiasm and delight. While not by any means a remarkable piano player his touch and musical feeling were very marked."

Their father was very temperate in his use of beer and wine, "though needless to say," writes one of his sons, "during the days of prohibition no alcoholic drinks of any kind were seen in our house . . . As you no doubt know, Father was rarely without a pipe and a tin or pouch of Prince Albert tobacco. Despite frequent urgings from medical and other vantage points to reduce smoking on account of his heart condition he kept it up until his last

illness, and I am sure he got real enjoyment from his puffs on one of his favorite battered pipes, which were usually so caked up that there was room for only a small pinch of tobacco."

Wherever the sons were he followed them: "Perhaps my chief impression. . . . is that Father had such a well-rounded personality. He was intensely interested in all the things which we did as a family, both at home and abroad, indoors and outdoors. This feeling is emphasized in the letters he wrote me when I was at school and college, in Europe (at Cambridge for two years during term time, and traveling, mostly on the continent during the 'vacs'), at the Harvard Law School and during my first year or two of married life. I have been rereading these letters with perhaps a greater appreciation of Father's real interest in my life and career than I had at the time when I received them."

His sons bear witness to their father's financial ability. One of them has said that he greatly admired his father's financial methods and knowledge. Another has written: "Father used to spend a great deal of time at his desk. I never realized until he died how varied his 'desk work' was. He was most meticulous in all money matters, keeping very neat and accurate check books and filing them away carefully. Long ago he instilled in me the habit of balancing check books regularly, and this has become second nature to me as a result. He also kept careful records of all income and investments, and from his correspondence appears to have been very active in deciding what stocks and bonds should be bought and sold. I am sure he would

have made a great success in the business or financial world had he been so inclined."

In so far as money occupied his attention it may be said that throughout his life Philip Rhinelander was blessed with freedom from financial anxiety. His sole financial problem was how to spend his money wisely and helpfully. His inherited property plus his current salary was amply equal to his essential needs. With these resources he was free to do as he pleased. However, the year before he died he inherited a substantial property from his brother-in-law, Dr. Rives, with whom, as has been said, he and his wife had been living. This in addition to his own and his wife's resources, made him, according to the contemporary standards, a rich man. The effect on him of this sudden and generous addition to his property was interesting to watch. He was troubled; his conscience was not at rest; his sense of stewardship intensified; his realization of the economic differences in modern society became more vivid. His wife shared these feelings and supported him in them. Outwardly one could see no difference in their conduct of life. However, there was a difference, for their horizon of unselfishness was widened. Visible sign of their public spirit appeared in his widow's gift of the Rives house to the Diocese of Washington for a diocesan office. The enlarged fortune was in the right hands.

It is assumed that religion was at the center of his domestic life. It had been so in his boyhood. It was to be so throughout his three-score years and ten. As a bachelor in the Washington parish ministry, as a married man at the Berkeley Divinity School and the Episcopal Theological School, during the Pennsylvania Episcopate, and at the Col-

lege of Preachers, private and family prayers were the invariable rule. Religion in the family was the dominant note. Usually the study or living room was the domestic chapel. But while occupying the bishop's house in Philadelphia the family services were held in the chapel. At morning prayers one of the boys might read the lesson —even a six-year old son. One of the sons has as his "most vivid recollection of domestic life in Philadelphia the early morning Communion service at Christmas and Easter which Father conducted in the improvised chapel in the basement of our house. He used to pump and play the little organ himself. I must have enjoyed these services, because I remember them so well." The type of service was likely to follow the order of the Church Year, and, for a double purpose; first, because by repetition the fundamental facts and doctrines of the Christian faith would be instilled into the hearts and minds of grown-ups and children; second, because Philip Rhinelander was orderly in all that he did. To his mind there was nothing more satisfactorily orderly than the progression of the Church Year from the First Sunday in Advent around to the eve of the next First Sunday in Advent. The discipline reflected his rich and comforting religious convictions.

As the years went by, Philip Rhinelander, his wife, and children lived in many homes. Among them, the one that became more of a family center than any other and about which family associations continuously gathered, was the summer home at Gloucester, Massachusetts, well out on Eastern Point. It was bought in 1922, after many summers spent in Newport and elsewhere. Thereafter it was occupied steadily for three or four months of each year. The

Bishop gave it as much time as his professional duties might allow, and after his retirement remained there throughout the summer. As the sons married and as the grandchildren increased, the families came for visits of varying length. The arrangement was somewhat patriarchal. The Bishop loved to have it so. He was never happier than when the house swarmed with children and grandchildren.

From the southeastern and southwestern windows of the large house there is a wide view of sea and harbor; to the southeast, over the surf dashing against the breakwater and well out into the open ocean; to the southwest, across to the reef of Norman's Woe; and, more to the west, to the fleets of pleasure boats and Gloucester fishermen. The muffled sound of the breakers might always be heard, and in thick weather the tolling bell of the light house guarding the harbor.

The Bishop loved the place and everything associated with it, but probably most of all his garden. It was a fairly spacious plot on a well-walled terrace facing the harbor. His fondness for it was the deeper because it was his especial care and responsibility. Within it he found rest—complete physical and mental relaxation. It was a well-ordered garden with a wide variety of shrubs and flowers with paths picturesquely winding among them. The Bishop was somewhat of a horticulturist. He knew his garden intimately. He was familiar with genus and species; he knew the Latin as well as the English names. As his professional duties until the last two or three years of his life prevented his attention to the spring planting, he would during the summer anticipate the plans for the following year, giving his gardener explicit directions. Furthermore,

he was not willing to leave to his gardener the exclusive cultivation of the garden. As long as his strength lasted he would work in it with spade, rake, and trowel. He liked the feel of the soil. He liked to see things grow. Occasionally he had to be called into the house for fear that his love of his garden would carry him beyond his strength. But until the end he walked peacefully within it. And when he was confined to the house, there were his flowers beautifully arranged by loving hands.

CHAPTER II

St. Paul's and Harvard

St. Paul's School

PHILIP FOLLOWED the lead of his older brothers and went to St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, in the autumn of 1883.

The famous first headmaster and founder of the school, Dr. Henry A. Coit, had many years to go before retiring and was at the maturity of his powers. He was a born teacher, an organizer of unusual ability, a genius in his knowledge of boys and in his association with them. He and his staff formed a congenial family with similar ideals. Among the Church schools in the United States his position and influence were much like those of Thomas Arnold of Rugby. His religious and ecclesiastical convictions, however, differed rather radically from those of Arnold. While Arnold was an evangelical Low Churchman, believing that the future of the English Church could be secured only by an affiliation with non-conformity, Coit was a fairly high Churchman, holding to the episcopate as a divinely ordered institution necessary to the life of the Church, and convinced that the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church were essentially catholic and a logical

consequence of the medieval and early Church. Unlike Arnold he was a strong Sacramentalist.

In Dr. Coit's day the religious teaching and practice at St. Paul's were of this "high" order. While the services in chapel were of the simplest character, without a touch of advanced ritual, the general religious tone of the school was a consequence of the Oxford Movement as represented by John Keble and Edward Bouverie Pusey, and, toward the end of Dr. Coit's headmastership, by Edward Neville Talbot and Charles Gore, and others of the *Lux Mundi*¹ group, as they were called.

Although Philip was then too young to know or to care about these aspects of religious and ecclesiastical thought, the atmosphere of St. Paul's was congenial. It was like that to which he had been accustomed at home and in the parish to which he and his family belonged. It was that of his family and, later, of his own spiritual director, Dr. Satterlee. It was to be the atmosphere in which Philip was, throughout his life, to find his freedom.

It must not be thought that this type of Churchmanship was marked, as it is today, by a rather elaborate ritual and ceremonial. Far from it! Dr. Coit's personal views and those followed in the school chapel, like those of John Henry Newman before he went to Rome, and those of

¹ *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies on the Religion of the Incarnation*, Edited by Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Second Edition, 1890, Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York. A quotation from the preface may indicate its point of view: "The real development of theology is rather the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age: and because 'the truth makes her free' is able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give place to all new knowledge . . . shewing again and again her power of witnessing under changed conditions to the catholic capacity of her faith and life."

Keble and Pusey throughout their lives, were adequately expressed in simple liturgy and ceremonial. The chapel had no eucharistic vestments. As his biographer has said, "he always wore the old fashioned, wide-spreading surplice, which stood out in ample folds,"² a vestment similar to that of the great majority of his contemporaries in the ministry.

One of those who knew Dr. Coit well has written, "St. Paul's School was his lengthened shadow; without striving to do so he dominated the pupils, the Masters and the Board of Trustees. To him the purpose of education was the formation of character, and character that Miltonic union of true virtue and the heavenly grace of faith which make up the highest perfection. . . . He had a profound understanding of boys and a rich gift of humor, and his strong, exquisite, unselfish, deeply religious personality left an enduring impression on their minds."³

With a man of this noble nature and within the influence of "his lengthened shadow" Philip lived during the academic years 1883-1887. As he was always to cherish a religious and ecclesiastical point of view much like that of his headmaster, it is reasonable to think that opinions already in embryo before he entered St. Paul's were in a measure matured while he remained there. With minor modifications that fine association of the evangelical and the sacramental was a dominant characteristic throughout his life.

Philip's schoolmates write that they thought him singu-

² James P. Conover, *Memories of a Great Schoolmaster*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1906.

³ George Henry Genzmer in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, New York.

larly highminded and honorable. They even suggest that he lived on a somewhat loftier moral and religious plane than they. And yet there is no hint that he was self-righteous or a prig. They are unanimous in their opinion that he was manly in all his ways. Although tall for his age, slender, fair-haired and of very light complexion—all of which gave the impression of frailty—he took his full share in the usual school games and sports. And although not a member of the famous St. Paul's hockey teams, nor an oarsman in the school boat, he was a good skater and hockey player, and he gave promise of excellence in tennis. He never, either then or later, showed the slightest sign of indifference to sport, or an unwillingness to share in the good times his friends were having. He was neither a recluse nor a grind. He was full of the enjoyment of life, showing it on the athletic field as well as elsewhere. His conduct in these ways was prophetic of his days at Harvard and Oxford where he did well at tennis and rowing, although never on a "Varsity" team nor in a "Varsity" boat.

In those happy, profitable, and character-forming days, as well as throughout his life, Philip loved music, both instrumental and choral. He played the piano and organ with zest; he sang with enthusiasm. Although he was a virtuoso at neither, his pleasure was contagious, making him then and thereafter the center of many a good time. His evident delight was the cement of many a friendship.

Along with these friendly qualities, Philip excelled in his studies, standing at the top of his form or very near it throughout his stay at St. Paul's. His excellence was conspicuous in every subject, showing an evenness of interest and accomplishment. His punctuality, his industry, and

his manners were of similar distinction. On the back of one of Philip's reports the headmaster wrote in his fine, clear hand, "The enclosed report needs no comment. H.A.C."

The intimate association with St. Paul's was to continue, showing Philip's confidence not only in his headmaster and in the dominant spirit of the school while he was a member of it, but also in his enduring respect and affection.

When Philip was ordained to the priesthood in 1898, he asked Dr. Coit's brother and successor, J. H. Coit, to preach the ordination sermon.

In one of Philip's letters, written while he was teaching at the Berkeley Divinity School, he told his sister that he always kept by his bedside a copy of *The Imitation of Christ*. Doubtless it was the little volume which Dr. Coit had given him a few years earlier. Dr. Coit had been hoping that he might send Philip, at the time of his ordination to the priesthood, a rather rare edition—a copy of one he had seen in the Monastery of Mount Carmel, printed in the sixteenth century. In a letter of April 14, 1898, Dr. Coit wrote, "I beg of you to accept the copy of à Kempis which I send and date its coming rather in accordance with my intention than with the actual fact. In any event, it is a sign of an old and deep affection of warm sympathy and interest, and it carries with it many fervent prayers for your happiness in the years to come—and the happiness I especially invoke for you is the blessed happiness of knowing that He who has called you to serve Him as Priest in His Church is Himself always with you, sending trials and proofs of your love and constancy, crowning you with a share in the travail of His soul, and supporting you with

consolation of His Presence, and His own gifts of insight and courage and strength."

Dr. Coit had recently written asking Philip to write and read a poem at the forthcoming meeting of Alumni and School, an invitation which Philip had modestly declined. The headmaster had replied: "No one could appreciate better your feelings about writing a poem to order than I do. Prose, however insignificant and meaningless, would not daunt me, but verse would be beyond me even to save my life, I fancy. However, I am very sorry it is your opinion also, and I wish that you had accepted for we should enjoy having you here at Anniversary in that capacity. If the orator of the occasion was not already secured I should be tempted to suggest to you to deliver us an address or oration, but at some other time I hope you will favor us. Believe me we shall be most happy to see you here at any time . . ."

Throughout the years there was a succession of letters from Dr. Coit asking Philip to come to the school to preach, or just to come and spend a few days: "You know how greatly I shall enjoy the glimpse of you and the pleasure of trying with you to peer a little way into the future and gather hope for the Church, for the country, and for this vexed and perplexed spirit which finds no resting place to which it may hold firm and secure in the present storm. Yes, I should like to talk with you about many things."

It is quite evident that trustees and alumni of St. Paul's must have noticed this friendship, as it developed when Philip was one of the boys with whom the first headmaster and his staff dealt, either in the classroom or in more informal ways, and as it matured throughout the later years.

They must have known that these friends were most congenial, that they had virtually the same religious, theological, and ecclesiastical points of view, and that both were thoroughly imbued with the best English traditions in preparatory school education. An older and a younger man could hardly be found who were so much of one mind relative to the ideals for which St. Paul's might stand. Therefore it is not surprising that some years later, when there was a vacancy in the headmastership, Philip Rhinelander was very informally asked whether he would consider the position. There was a logic running through the latter's association with St. Paul's which naturally led to this conclusion. In his letters Rhinelander refers to the suggestion, but without comment.

Unlike some of his form-mates Philip did not remain at St. Paul's for the sixth form year—a necessary year for some who, for one reason or another, were not ready for college. After a summer with his family he entered Harvard in the autumn of 1887.

Harvard College

In the freshman class at Harvard Philip found many friends from St. Paul's and other schools—from St. Paul's, William Randol, Henry Corning, and Dudley Dean, the last of whom not only "trailed him pretty closely in fourth form work," but who, although one of the youngest of the class of '91, was to be the quarterback of a victorious football team and captain of an equally successful baseball nine; the others were also to be friends and admirers throughout the Harvard years. From New York private schools, among others, came I. N. P. Stokes and John

Howells, a few years later to form the well-known architectural firm; from Groton, Howard Cushing and Robert Potter, both of whom were among his closest college friends. At the outset of his college years Philip was socially well equipped. As time went on, these and other friendships increased in number and in depth.

During the first two years of college Philip lived in Beck Hall, 1, and in Beck, 34, in his third and fourth years. Beck was a privately owned dormitory, situated at the junction of Massachusetts Avenue and Harvard Street. Adjoining the building was a large garden within which the most elaborate and attractive class day and commencement "spreads" took place. The site of building and garden is now occupied by a filling station—*Sic transit gloria!* Freshmen are now quartered in the Yard, upper classmen in the Houses.

Between 1887 and 1891, Philip's years as an undergraduate, seven hundred and fifty men ate three times a day in Memorial Hall, the dining commons of all who cared to eat there and who could afford to pay four dollars and twenty-five cents a week, three dollars seventy-five if they were away for the week end. It was interesting and somewhat amusing to discover the students' reasons for selecting this particular dining hall. The great majority, of course, ate there because the food was good and the cost fitted their purses; others for these reasons and because their friends were eating there; still others, because, although usually they could afford a higher rate, they found this an easy and pleasant way to save money. After more than fifty years from Philip's college days, it is not easy to discover his motive for eating in Memorial Hall. Doubtless the

diagnosis of his case would not meet any of the ordinary groupings, for even in the days when his income was equal to a rather comfortable kind of life, he lived modestly and without ostentation. However, whatsoever his motive may have been, he was a member of a club-table at Memorial Hall for comparatively long periods.

As many will understand, a club-table consisted of a number of congenial friends who enjoyed eating together. The average table in Memorial Hall held fourteen men, six on a side, one at each end. In this case all the men were good friends of Philip's, some were to be closely associated with him throughout his life. On the whole they were an able group, the best of companions, a few of them prominent in athletics, most of them to achieve eminence in business or profession, but, singularly, only one of them was to graduate with highest honors—all of which sets one thinking as to the relationship between academic standing and later success in life. The conversation at this table was good, at times lively, seldom ordinary. The fine fiber of Philip's mind and character, his readiness in discussion, his native culture, were amply apparent in the give-and-take across the table. His enthusiasm was contagious; his wit quick and penetrating; his common sense conspicuous.

Beyond the club-table, Philip's friendships were those of informal exercise and of the various societies to which he belonged. Although always good at games, he was almost conspicuously absent from any of the athletic teams. Apparently he preferred to get his exercise in less organized ways—tennis, for example, at which he was much better than the average. He was a member, however, of many social clubs. He was elected to the Institute of 1770 and

the Hasty Pudding, respectively, in his sophomore and senior years. These were more representative of the class, numbering in each case about twenty-five percent. The Delta Phi was much smaller than either. It was a new society in Philip's day, largely confined to men who had, in one way or another, shown marks of distinction. George Santayana, who was elected to the society in a somewhat informal and spontaneously friendly way, being a graduate of a few years standing, speaks of the character and promise of some of the members, adding that its nickname, the Gas House, was due to its brightly lighted windows in the early days of electrical lighting, and later possibly to the brilliancy and vanity of the conversation.⁴ Within this more intimate circle Philip was very much at home. Santayana played the part of elder brother to the group. Among others were James and Thomas Lee, Edward Moën, Howard Cushing, Robert Potter, and Ernest Codman. With these and others Philip found good conversation and invigorating companionship. In the following years many of the club membership were to become men of distinction in public affairs, art, poetry, medicine, and philosophy.

Three other societies to which he belonged drew more directly on the intellectual interests of the students—the O.K., the Signet, and the Philosophical Society. The first two were composed almost entirely of men of literary interests, the last exclusively of those ready to discuss the consequences of their philosophical study. Singularly enough a good number of Philip's friends were members

⁴ George Santayana, *The Middle Span*, p. 108, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

of all three. As Philip was primarily concerned with philosophical problems it was natural that the last named club should mean the most to him.

While his participation in all of the societies was that of the actively interested undergraduate, he was ready to take his part in the fun as well as in the more serious occupations. If one ever has an opportunity to see a photograph of the actors in "The Obispah," the Hasty Pudding Club play of 1890-1891, he will see Philip among the "girls." There he is, rather unfeminine to be sure, but with golden hair and dressed in fine Persian fashion. His chief function was to sing along with the girls' chorus. His voice was ungirl-like, rather shrill, but full of volume and frolic.

Although Philip was not called upon for any solos, he was in the chorus of some of the topical songs, a few verses of one were a consequence of recent undergraduate experience. Harvard, after many years of failure, had recently defeated Yale in football. The students had surged around President Eliot's house and had called him out on his piazza, shouting "speech, speech." The President, not at all stirred by the demonstration, called attention to the sustained courage of the defeated team. When he had finished the crowd withdrew quietly into the night. Shortly thereafter the muse of poetry mastered Jack Wendell, and the muse of music overcame Bob Atkinson with the following result at a Pudding Play:

When the president came out to greet the winning team;
When he took the courage of the Elis for his theme;
When he said their motto was the watchword, "Never Fail,"—
Did he think we were from Harvard, or had just come up from Yale?

Again, an affectionate reflection on the Dean:

When Noah did build himself an ark and started for a cruise,
And all the various animals walked in by two and twos,
If the Dean of Harvard College had only been then in the swim,
I wonder what in thunder would have walked along with him.

After each verse Philip and the others would sing lustily:

'Tis a question, 'tis a question that has not been answered yet,
pa, pa, pa, pa, pom, pa, pom, pa, pom, pa, pom.

The audience would rock with laughter, as verse after verse was sung. It was in that play that the famous song, "The Party at Odd Fellows Hall," was sung by Philip and others with equal gusto.

In his studies Philip personified the contradiction of a man of rather extraordinary intellectual interest and ability and one of only moderate academic standing. At commencement he was given a *cum laude* degree, whereas mentally he was equal to a *magna* or a *summa cum laude*. The contradiction is all the more remarkable when one remembers that he was at the top of his form at St. Paul's and was to win a First in theology at Oxford. The solution lies probably in the experience of so many who have stood high in preparatory school and were again to stand high in the graduate school, but whose interests in college have been so wide and so absorbing, and on the whole so worth while, that marks have temporarily ceased to be of primary moment. Or it may be that in Philip's case his devotion to one subject was so apparent, and his standing in that subject so high, that other subjects, and therefore his average standing, suffered. Whatever the reason, one can not help reflecting on how many excellent men there are, men of

unusual mentality, whose rank in college has been no outward sign of their intellectual past or future.

Philip went through college in a day of remarkable teachers. Some even go so far as to say that the late eighties and early nineties were part of the Golden Age of Harvard academic life. Doubtless, Harvard men of other generations reflect upon their own four years in Cambridge in much the same mood of self-contentment. For the sake of Harvard it is to be hoped that both groups are right. In either case it means that the men found their teachers competent in the form and content of their instruction.

Whatever may be said of the Harvard professorial staff of an earlier or a later day, those of Rhinelander's four years were of the best. Confining one's self to those whose classes Rhinelander attended, there were McVane and Hart in the constitutional history of England and of the United States, and Channing in modern European history; Taussig in political economy; Cooke, Lovering, and Shaler in chemistry, physics, and natural history (geology), respectively. White, Fowler, Wright, and Morgan directed him in the Greek poets, dramatists, and philosophers; Allen and Lane in the Latin historians and dramatists; Bocher in the French dramatists of the seventeenth century. As one surveys the list thus far one notices, on the one hand, the almost irreducible minimum of science—each course was rudimentary, almost sketchy, easily mastered with little work, no mathematics, no zoology, no biology. But one will also see that Rhinelander was building on the excellent foundation laid at St. Paul's in ancient and modern languages and literature, and all under well-nigh perfect

instruction. His mathematics record at St. Paul's was of the highest. It is quite possible that he needed no more.

As Rhinelander was given a *cum laude* degree because of his high standing in English and philosophy, it is evident that his major interests lay in those departments and, therefore, that their teachers were among his most formative influences. They were an exceptional group. In English they were Hill, Briggs, Wendell, Kittredge, and Thayer—Hill the preceptor of them all; Briggs, the famous dean; Wendell, with his original and stimulating peculiarities; Kittredge, to become not long afterward the famous Shakespearean authority; Thayer, not many years later to publish his series of Italian histories and his *Life of Cavour*. Fortunately, almost all of them were young, and while still, in almost every case, far from their maturities in scholarship, they knew their subjects; they were excellent drill-masters; they were enthusiastic and friendly. Briggs, Wendell, Kittredge, and Thayer were in their late twenties or early thirties; they were embryonic men of eminence.

It is interesting to note that every course in English which Rhinelander took was either in composition or in forensic method—not one course in English literature! Perhaps this was just as well, for he had read good books at St. Paul's, and, more important than any academic exercises either at school or at college, he had come from a family of culture. There was no time in which he had not been familiar with good books.

One of the most vivid memories of Philip is of him as he came slowly and thoughtfully from Professor Palmer's lecture room, after an hour of either the history of Greek

philosophy or problems in ethics (the celebrated Phil. 4), and then, standing on the steps of University Hall, discussing with a few chosen and able friends, the questions suggested by the lecturer. Those stimulating companions were, among others, Reginald (Swelly) Bangs, subsequently to take a leading position in banking and real estate and to be an occasional lecturer at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and John Bass, the intrepid and ingenious newspaperman and correspondent during the First World War. In passing let it be said again that his companions were invariably men of some distinction. In those discussions Philip always took a leading part. He thought clearly; he expressed himself succinctly; he glowed with earnestness and good humor; he was interested in the deeper implications of the problems.

Philosophy was his favorite subject, if one may reason from the time he devoted to it and from the marks he received. In addition to the history of Greek philosophy and problems in ethics, there were, naturally, the problems suggested by his rather extensive reading in the Greek and Latin classics and in his study of life among the Athenians. But, more directly, he gave himself to the ethics of social reform and to cosmology with a primary emphasis on evolution (at a time when the evolutionary theory was beginning to make its impression on all types of thought). His marks in these subjects were high, very high.

Here again his teachers were either still quite young or in the prime of life, or both, all depending upon one's definition of youth and the prime of life. Palmer (Greek philosophy and ethics) and Peabody (social ethics) were in their early or middle forties; Royce (cosmology) in his early or middle thirties. Santayana, of whom one has al-

ready spoken, was in his middle or late twenties. All were either at their best or rapidly approaching it. Francis Greenwood Peabody was thoroughly informed, a writer of books in his field, and of sterling Christian character. Palmer was steeped in the classics of Greece and Rome and in English literature, as well as in his chosen area of scholarship, always calm and precise, never hesitating for a proper word to put into its proper place, sometimes inclined to dispose of a problem in a suspiciously easy way. Royce, occasionally a little bit too wordy, but always getting at the heart of the matter, stimulating, occasionally stirring, a master in the direction of a seminar. These were the men with whom Philip was more closely associated. With one exception they composed the philosophical department of Philip's undergraduate days. That exception was William James.

Doubtless Philip heard an occasional lecture in James' classroom. Without question, he listened to an occasional public lecture. Few men who passed through Harvard between 1885 and 1905 failed to get into contact with James in one way or another. It is remarkable that Philip took no regular work under James, for the latter had just at that time published his *Principles of Psychology*, which gave him an international reputation. He had already proved himself an indefatigable student of morals and religion, as his forthcoming *Varieties of Religious Experience* was to make so impressive. James' interests were universal, ranging into the impossible. His motives and his efforts were of the highest. Philip sooner or later knew all about him. But why he did not seek him in his college days is a mystery. It may be because "he did all the good he could rather than all the good there was."

Few students have met with teachers of finer moral fiber

or of keener and more disciplined intellect than those under whom Philip studied during his four years as an undergraduate. That their reflections sank down into his inner nature, and that they subsequently became part of his theory of life is apparent in his notebooks. He took great care with them. Seen at a respectful distance they were things of beauty; on closer inspection (for many of us used them after missing a lecture) they were almost illegible. That perpendicular and picturesque handwriting almost entirely free of correction! It gave an accurate reproduction of the lecture. In fact, the course might have been rewritten from the Rhinelander notes. After a little practice we got accustomed to them, much to the advantage of our own notebooks.

More deeply, one will find in Philip's choice of courses an almost uncannily proper preparation for the life he was to lead. They are a foreshadowing of his conviction that religion and theology entail sound and clear thinking, and that the truths for which the Church stands must rest on valid experience. Some science, perhaps not quite enough, some economics, a generous amount of the classics, English, and philosophy formed a well-nigh perfect college experience. The selection was well-balanced, remarkably well-balanced in a day when apart from an introductory modern language course and English composition there was complete freedom of choice.

Law School

Along with many of his classmates, although some weeks later than they, Rhinelander entered the Harvard Law School in the autumn of 1891. Of this class of '91, seven

were Phi Beta Kappa men. The great majority of the 1891 Phi Beta Kappa went into teaching in schools and colleges —these with conspicuous success. On the other hand, it is noticeable that most of the men who passed from college to law school with Rhinelander were of moderate undergraduate academic standing. Among those with whom Rhinelander was more closely associated and in his law club only one was a member of Phi Beta Kappa—Burlingham. And yet, each and every one of his friends later achieved eminence at the bar. Although each had shown the quality of his mind while in college, hardly any had taken high rank, another rather eloquent bit of testimony: first, that undergraduate rating does not necessarily foretell competence in a professional school or later in the profession itself; second, that the professional school frequently draws from the student his latent abilities. Rhinelander's immediate friends are conspicuous instances of these principles.

However, casual acquaintance with them, even during the undergraduate days, would have impressed one with their promise. Nelson Perkins, Robert Barlow, Arthur Hill, Augustus N. Hand (Harvard '90), and others were to become leaders of the bar in Boston and New York. Furthermore, they were a well-rounded group in so far as culture was concerned.

When Rhinelander and these men entered the law school, it was beginning to make the reputation it has today. Under the creative leadership of President Eliot who had changed, and who was still changing, Harvard from a college into a university, and under the immediate inspiration and leadership of Christopher Columbus Langdell, who had

become dean in the early seventies, the law school had shifted from a training based on theoretical textbooks to one founded on the direct study of cases. In this revolutionary move Harvard was a pioneer, and on this radical change an immediate improvement in the training of lawyers was apparent. Teachers who preceded Langdell were in some cases men of unusual ability, but their success in preparing men for the law lay more in their personalities, in their experience, and in their teaching abilities than in the methods they were virtually forced to employ.

In the introduction and in the development of the case system, Dean Langdell was strongly supported by James Bradley Thayer, James Barr Ames, John Chipman Gray, and Jeremiah Smith, and by their younger contemporaries, Joseph H. Beale and Samuel Williston. When Rhinelander entered the school, the system had proved its value, and the instructors had become its masters. An abler, a more devoted, a more intelligent, a more common sense faculty may hardly be imagined. Rhinelander was in great good fortune to enter the school at that auspicious moment. He may well have thought that he was to be one of the newer and more adequately prepared, and therefore, one of the more useful lawyers.

Rhinelander studied property under Gray, torts under Smith, contracts under Williston, criminal law and procedure under Beale. One imagines that there was some unity and reason underlying the arranging of this course, compulsory for the first-year men, a kind of introduction into everything that might be developed during the following two years. At any rate, the subjects covered a wide field of jurisprudence and could not fail to train the mind and

prepare the student for whatever the profession might offer.

The lectures and the vigorous discussions in the classroom were supplemented by the drill of the law clubs. Rhinelander and other first-year men were not permitted to join the well established clubs. The clubs were naturally for higher classmen, men who already were fairly familiar with some branches of the law, and, at least theoretically, with the courtroom conduct of cases. Unwilling to wait until the second year, impatient to get to work on some of the more practical aspects of the law, ready to exercise themselves in the preparation of briefs and in pleading, Rhinelander and some of his friends formed their own club, giving it the somewhat whimsical name of the Bunghole. One wonders why such a name was given the club. (Possibly one of the members had heard of the recipe for eloquence attributed to Daniel Webster, "Fill yourself full of your subject, pull out the bung, and let nature caper.")

Judge Augustus N. Hand of the United States Circuit Court writes, "We were most zealous law students and an enthusiastic group. About January, 1892, Phil. Rhinelander and I were opposed to one another in argument in one of the moot court cases—Rhinelander was a formidable opponent, who always acquitted himself well and whom we all respected and liked . . . He was an attractive young man whom we regretted to lose as a fellow-student. I well remember his beautiful, fair complexion . . . his rarely charming manners and high-bred ways. He brought from Harvard College a reputation for mental acuteness especially shown in courses he had taken in the philosophy department . . . Had he continued in the law, he would have

made a scholarly lawyer and might well have pursued teaching of law as he afterward did teaching of Church history." Evidently the drill Rhinelander, Hand, and others found in the club was of value, for all but one of them in the second year passed into the best of the well established clubs.

After many months of legal study and thought under well-nigh perfect conditions, Rhinelander fell ill with a severe attack of pneumonia, forcing his absence from the final examinations, and, probably of major meaning, giving him a prolonged period of uninterrupted thought. He did not return to the Law School in the autumn. One does not know what passed through his mind during the spring and summer of 1892. One knows only that in the autumn of that year he entered the General Theological Seminary in New York, becoming at the same time a candidate for the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is quite safe to assume that thought of the ministry had lain in the back of his mind for many months, if not years, and that conversations with Dr. Satterlee, his rector, had reinforced his own feeling.

CHAPTER III

Oxford

RHINELANDER PASSED the academic year 1892-93 at the General Theological Seminary in New York City. The experience proved thoroughly unsatisfactory. Hitherto, he had had excellent teaching and stimulating companionship. From teachers and friends the demands made on his mind had been vigorous and exacting. At the seminary he found the teaching still in the textbook, question-and-answer stage. With a few notable exceptions, the religious leadership and the companionships were uninspiring. As the seminary at that time would allow men of shortened college training to matriculate, the average classroom intelligence was no match for that of Rhinelander and others of more thorough university experience. In those days, the school was by no means, either in its teaching staff, in its teaching methods, or in its religious atmosphere, the institution it became in later years, and to which Rhinelander, as Bishop of Pennsylvania, was proud to send his candidates for the ministry. With other admirably prepared men, he sought to improve conditions, both by conversations with the teachers and by appeal to the trustees, but in vain. As the year drew to a close, he knew that further residence would be folly and a waste of time. He might have counted

the year completely lost had he not had good books to read, a few like-minded friends with whom to discuss points in religion and theology and with whom he might engage in the mutual criticism of sermons, and had he not had, in the background, his rector, Dr. Satterlee, the minister of the "best organized parish in the city of New York." And yet, it may be that all along he had intended to have some of his preparation in an English university.

In June, 1893, Rhinelander wrote to his sister Ethel: "No doubt you have put the right interpretation on my silence—that is that I was still undecided as to the Oxford scheme. My visit to Concord was a great help in clearing the way, in reducing the problem to its lowest terms, and in making an ultimate decision easier. I am clear now that if I did go, much the wisest thing to do would be to go into regular residence at a college and take the full three years' course. Dr. Coit advised my going strongly if another year at the seminary would be as dissatisfying and disquieting as the last. If I could go back there willing to make the best of it and not kick or protest or rebel, but calmly take things as I found them—in other words could submit to the yoke patiently and hopefully, the discipline would undoubtedly do me good and in the end might really develop me more than three years spent in the most congenial atmosphere. Then he laid stress on the advantage of being connected with a parish like Calvary—the best worked parish in the U. S. in his opinion, and with a man like Dr. Satterlee. The opportunity for practical responsibilities would be less there than here, and I am in a plastic condition and need the moulding which such responsibilities would give me. The advantages of Oxford, on the other

hand, are too obvious to mention. Dr. Sat. agrees herewith, but goes a step farther and advises me to make a provisional decision to go *at once*, that is to begin to prepare for the exams and so get accustomed to the idea and then see how I feel, which I am about to do. I write today to the heads of four colleges—Keble, Exeter, St. John's and Trinity for the requirements and expect to start tomorrow to brush up my geometry! No more now. I must run."

The letter tells the story. Although he had had good and sympathetic friends at the General Theological Seminary, he had not been contented with either atmosphere or teaching. In fact, he had been courteously rebellious. He had high educational ideals which were by no means met during that transition period in the seminary's life. He had a lofty conception of the moral and religious training for the ministry. He was sure that Oxford could give him what he wanted.

In the autumn of 1893, Philip carried out his carefully planned purpose to continue his theological studies at Oxford University. Rather than at any of the colleges mentioned in his letter, he matriculated at Christ Church, or, as it is more familiarly known, "The House."¹

He was assigned rooms in Meadow Building, and there he remained for three academic years. The rooms were comfortable, sufficiently heated, for men of those days, by an open coal grate—Welsh coal, undoubtedly, with its lovely wood-like flame—keeping the rooms at a temperature more wholesome than that of the average college rooms of a later date in his native land. There he worked, and there he breakfasted and lunched, dining "in hall"—the superb

¹ *Aedes Christi.*

Christ Church hall, of exquisite architecture, its walls hung with the portraits of former Christ Church men who had achieved eminence in Church or State.

A few steps from his rooms would take him out into the town through Tom Quad (affectionately named after Thomas Wolsey, the founder of the college) or, in another direction, into the lovely Christ Church meadows, and down to the banks of the Isis. In whatever way he turned, his eye would meet scenes of loveliness and of historic interest. At once, in his modest and friendly way, he fell among friends and into the congenial routine of a candidate for the bachelor's degree in theology.

Within two or three weeks of his matriculation at Christ Church, he breakfasted with the Dean and Mrs. Paget. "Nothing much happened—they ask all freshmen in turn just to break them in. They were nice, but not cordial, talked entirely upon impersonal subjects . . . so there was nothing exciting or interesting about the meal, except the surroundings. The house is as historic as any part of the college and the high ceilings and roomy look of things was refreshing. There was a delightful man staying there with the Dean—a clergyman named Eyton, rector of a large parish in Westminster. My heart warmed to him at once. He had been to America, knew Phillips Brooks well and appreciated him to the full, could not say enough about him. Said he seemed to lift up and inspire everything he came in contact with by his own largeness of soul. I don't think the Dean sympathized much. He merely threw in incidentally that 'Bishop Brooks had a keen sense of humour' and changed the subject. I did not speak two words to either the Dean or Mrs. P., so my impressions are worth

nothing. So far they have treated me like any other freshman and I am glad of it on my own account for obvious reasons."

In Rhinelander's years at Oxford, and doubtless since that time, the industrious student had given himself a nice division of the day—lectures and reading for the morning, followed by a light luncheon at about one o'clock (a very light luncheon it was, not one of those sleep-provoking luncheons so common in the colleges of the United States); almost immediately after luncheon, with no sense of hurry, exercise; after exercise, a bath, and, invariably, tea; at five o'clock a return to study until dinner at seven; after dinner work again.

Types of exercise varied widely, and all of them seemed to be generously patronized. Hardly a man, young or old, could be found in his rooms between two and four o'clock. Many walked across the meadows and along the banks of the Isis, and walking was by no means confined to the older students and dons. Others played cricket or tennis. Rhinelander was no stranger to either, for he had been familiar with cricket at St. Paul's, and tennis was his favorite form of exercise at Harvard. Still others played Rugger (Rugby football). Many a student took an hour or two to cycle about the roads of Oxfordshire. In Rhinelander's last year at Oxford, one tenth of the entire student number were rowing, Rhinelander rowing a "good" oar in one of the House boats in the bumping races on the Isis. Such a figure, together with the number who took their exercise in other ways, shows how comparatively universal was the students' open air program. Those who stood about and watched others exercise were a negligible group.

His early impressions of Oxford athletics, doubtless modified later, were very American: "They treat athletics in a light and airy way which is essentially wholesome, but wasteful of material. The lack of system, of careful watching would disgust an ambitious Harvard captain. They row here merely for the fun of the thing. They would just as lief beat when it comes to a race, but they don't care much. Whereas we row purely to beat someone else and care not a jot whether individuals are killed or tortured in the process. Now the true point of view lies about half way between these two, and it remains to be seen which side will get there first. I think the English will, for we seem more fierce and violent and excited over our athletics each year. I went out with Myer to view a Varsity game of football the other day and it was such a wretchedly tame affair to watch. No point apparently. Anyone could pick up the ball and toss it into the midst of a struggling mass of players, who would keep on struggling quite without reference to the ball. Then a brilliant youth would seize the ball just when he saw fit and when the idea struck him dash down the field, and the rest after him. And so it went. Absolutely no excitement was shown either by players or spectators, though it was a very swell game. Some one voice would occasionally call out 'well played Varsity' or 'that was a rare bit of passing' but that was all. Myer and I left in disgust and longed for Springfield" (where the Harvard-Yale games of that day were played).

Rhinelander's favorite form of exercise was cycling. Perhaps it would be safer to call it one of his favorite forms, for he was also fond of rowing and of tennis. As he and I (if the author may step into the story for a mo-

ment) had many a good afternoon on our wheels it is natural that I should recall his delight in this kind of exercise more vividly than that of any other. It was quite characteristic of him to enjoy cycling, for there are few more lovely countrysides than Oxfordshire, and few within which there are more places of historic interest. He loved the beauty; he absorbed the traditions.

During his last year at Oxford one could cycle in winter as well as in autumn or spring, for, unlike the previous winter which is remembered down to this day as a season of heavy frost and snow, there was little frost and hardly a flake of snow. One could almost count on favorable weather, apart from an occasional rain. When the day was fair the roads were well adapted to the purpose, for there was almost invariably a good roadside cycle path. During and after a rain, however, the roads were among the worst, for in spite of the crushed stone base there was a surface of slippery clay over which one pedaled at some risk.

One of our favorite rides was to the southwest of Oxford, up the long and steady ascent of Cumnor hill, at the top passing along the Farringdon Road not far from the home of Amy Robsart, skirting picturesque and quaintly-named villages and down into Uffington, the home of Thomas Hughes (Tom Brown), from the vicarage of which Tom mounted the coach which was to take him to Rugby. From Uffington we looked across the valley and saw the White Horse clearly cut in the chalk of the opposite hillside in commemoration of Alfred's victory over the Danes. Thence we turned eastward toward Wantage, King Alfred's birthplace, taking a look at some old Roman ruins

on the way. We would have tea at Wantage—excellent tea, excellent thin-sliced white and brown bread, excellent jam or marmalade. After a half-hour or so we would turn northward toward Oxford, on the way passing through Abingdon with its ancient abbey; and, if we had time, dropping in at Radley vicarage, where the vicar, Mr. Nash, would give us a warm welcome, and where we were likely to meet Robert Ottley and Charles Gore, both of whom were to prove life-long friends of Rhinelander's. A comparatively short run brought us back to Oxford, after a ride of about forty miles. This long-to-be-remembered trip we took more than once and always with delight.

Another ride stands out in my memory—one of about eighty miles from Oxford to Banbury, Leamington, and return, covering parts of two days. Going and coming, we saw whatever sights there were, and we did not miss an attractive and refreshing tea on either day. On the way back all went well until we reached Banbury, about half way home. Then the spirit of competition laid hold of us. For those last twenty miles we raced, first one bicycle leading, then the other, until I, for one, reached Oxford thoroughly exhausted, while Philip was almost as fresh as when he pedaled out of Banbury. In those days he was, physically, very fit.

One more episode before I leave the subject of cycling. The Rev. Charles Harris Hayes, whom Rhinelander had known in the General Theological Seminary in New York and who had recently matriculated at Balliol, an excellent companion, wanted to learn to ride a bicycle. Rhinelander and I took him over to Mansfield Road where there was little traffic. There we gave him private lessons, dodging

him and even climbing a fence to avoid his surges to and fro, as he tried to master the machine. When we thought him ready, we three took a ten or fifteen mile ride, ending with the long descent down Cumnor hill, where "the eye travels down to Oxford's Towers." As Hayes came over the brow of the hill, and as his bicycle began to feel the pull of gravity, speed increased and the novice lost control. With feet spread wide apart, he abandoned himself to fate. But, as he looked ahead, he saw an alternative. He must collide either with a wagon filled with stone or with a man walking innocently and unsuspectingly beside it. Being a person of intelligently quick decision, he chose the softer object, knocking the pedestrian into the ditch by the roadside. While Hayes and his bicycle lay in a heap, his victim arose, hurried over to Hayes, asked if he were injured, and begged his pardon for being in the way! What good times we three had together wandering about that perfect countryside! And how considerate the English always were, even though occasionally they could not quite understand our ways!

Again a personal reminiscence—my first stay at the Hawarden Hostel was in the Easter vacation of 1896, with Rhinelander and Hayes. We brought our bicycles up from Oxford, ready to take advantage of our ten day vacation. Those were the days when the hostel consisted of an old schoolhouse for a dormitory and a cast-iron hutch for the library. The former made a most comfortable and quaint shelter for a comparatively small number. The latter housed fifty thousand volumes—all from Gladstone's library and many of them gifts of the authors, each autographed by

the writer. We used to browse around among those title pages.

The Grand Old Man lived in the Glynne ancestral mansion in the park on the other side of the road. At that time he was in residence. We visited his remarkable library, renowned especially for its collection of classics with which he was extraordinarily familiar. We sauntered about the park and among the big trees, seeing occasionally the stump of one which bore the marks of Gladstone's axe.

The hostel lay just outside the churchyard, a gate and a short garden walk leading to the west door of the village church. Gladstone's son, Stephen, was the rector. As it was Lent we went to daily evensong. The G.O.M., or Gladder, as the college men called him, sat on a stool placed just in front of the first pew. We sat as near him as decency would allow, not farther than two pews back. Shall we ever forget that fine old head, those chiseled features, that rich and strong voice that finished the verse of the psalm a word or two after the rest of the congregation, and for which we reverently waited! Stephen usually made the afternoon address. I have heard worse, but hardly ever. After an excellent example of empty thought, Stephen and his clergy walked down the center aisle to their robing-room. His father, who had been kneeling with his face buried in the cushion of his stool, raised himself slowly, glanced after his son's retreating form with an expression on that fine old face which told us that he had never heard Stephen do worse than that. The incomparable statesman had only two years more to live. We shall never forget him.

Each of us had work to do. Rhinelander was bringing to an end his preparation for his examinations in theology in

which, two or three months later, he was to win a First. Our mornings were given to earnest study. Our afternoons saw us riding into Chester to visit the quaint shops, the city walls or the cathedral, or along the heights from which we could look down upon the Sands of Dee, or to some of the surrounding villages. Wrexham was only twelve miles away. There we heard the ringers peal the bells, and there we saw the grave of Elihu Yale, on the flat tombstone of which was the following inscription—"Born in America, in Europe bred, in Africa travelled, in Asia wed where long he lived and thriv'd, in London dead. Much good, some ill he did, so hope all's even and that his soul through mercy's gone to heaven." The interests of Wrexham were typical of those of the neighborhood.

Rhinelander, Hayes, and I, with Livingston Schuyler, Wilbur Cortez Abbott, and George C. Houghton, lunched together every Saturday. We were all citizens of the United States. We asked no Englishman to join us. We wanted to know each other better, and we wanted freedom to reflect upon the kind of experience we were having. Rhinelander was naturally the heart of these meetings, for at the outset he was the only one of us who had been in Oxford more than a few weeks. It would have been quite proper if he had treated us with his usual, unfailing courtesy, asking us to his rooms occasionally, and from time to time taking a bit of exercise with us, and then giving himself wholly to his specifically English opportunities. But that was not his way—neither then, nor later in life. He was loyal to his friends, old and new, and to his compatriots.

Our luncheons had no program; there was neither sub-

ject nor paper. But the talk, ranging over a wide field, frequently representing the primary interests of the men, was good. And why not? The men were doing well at the time, each had a serious purpose and each was to prove his mettle later on. Rhinelander was to be a parish priest, professor of Church history, professor of religion and missions, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and warden of the College of Preachers; Hayes was to be Rhinelander's colleague in parish work, a fellow examining chaplain in Washington, professor of philosophy at Trinity College and professor of theology at the General Theological Seminary; Schuyler was to spend more than thirty years as tutor and professor of history in the College of the City of New York, along with parochial ministries; Abbott, after teaching at various western colleges and universities, was to be professor of modern European history at Yale and Harvard, and an authority on Cromwell; Houghton was to pass much of his life as rector of "The Little Church Around the Corner" in New York. Each, at the time, was under the direction of some of the ablest and most renowned university teachers. Those luncheons were long to be remembered, Rhinelander doing more than any of us to make them so. He knew the dons with whom we were becoming acquainted; he was already in harmony with the traditions which we wanted to make our own; he was the embodiment of the life which we had come to Oxford to share. After all, much of the richest of this Oxford experience has to do with the eating process—a man or two coming in for breakfast, a few lunching, or at tea, or dining together. If campaigns are won on the cricket fields of Eton, personal service and creative scholarship find at least some

of their causes in the breaking of bread. We Americans sometimes forget these inconspicuous origins of later usefulness.

Contacts with his fellow countrymen were, and ought to have been, a small part of Rhinelander's Oxford experience. He was there to be trained for the ministry after the Oxford fashion; he was there to give himself wholly to the Oxford way of life. Being an Episcopalian he was there to steep himself in the past and present of Anglicanism.

The English universities have always been wise in insisting that social intercourse has an important part to play in education; mere knowledge is not enough. In fact, the universities occasionally reduce their theory to an absurdity by giving their bachelor degrees to those who, whether sick or well, have acquired little information, but who have been in residence the proper number of terms. Nevertheless, the underlying theory is sound—association with one's peers on the athletic field, over the breakfast table and over the teacup, dining in hall, and late evening discussions, all in an atmosphere of noble traditions and academic refinement, go far to make the gentleman and thoughtful citizen. The English method would make it almost impossible for a student to pass through his three academic years without either acquiring or developing the essentials of friendly and productive co-operation.

Rhinelander took a generous part in this more informal aspect of Oxford life. As has already been said, he rowed well in one of The House eights. He frequently breakfasted or lunched in his friends' rooms, and they in his—most genial and friendly affairs. Not long after he had become

a student in The House, he had won his way into a group of congenial fellow students. They received him as one of themselves, his Americanism proving an attractive asset rather than an objectionable liability. Always true to his own country and proud of it, he entered with sympathy into another tradition, knowing its value and aware that he needed it.

As Rhinelander's Oxford experience lay between fifty and sixty years ago, it is natural that only a few who remember him are still living, and that the memories of these, in some instances, are rather dim. However, a few of them remember him well and affectionately. Some of them rowed with him in The House boat; others walked with him over the meadows or played tennis with him; still others, perhaps the same men, met with him in the informal student societies of which he was a member. One of his contemporaries writes: "After forty-nine years my recollection is not very good, but I recall his face perfectly. He was slender, I should say, and fair-haired, quiet, self-possessed, never speaking ill of anyone. I think he was a rowing man, but doubt if he got into the first House eight. We were both members of a little club called The Churchwardens. We drank one toast only—'The Queen, The President of the United States, and the King of the Belgians'—because Philip was American and "Fuzzy" Dessain a Belgian."

Another friend writes: "I was six years at Oxford, and in that time Rhinelander was the best man I met. He reached the Honors School of Divinity, which meant learning Hebrew. He had the Greek. He was a terrific worker and got a first. But he made time for rowing and was a good

oar. In college rooms he was the very best of company. Philip never pushed divinity down our throats; nor did he ever swear, despite that fashion in the nineties! . . . Also he was 100 per cent good American—and he never rubbed that in either. He could make allowance for Englishing without ever being superior. It was for his cheerfulness and capacity for friendship that he will be best remembered. His charm was enhanced by a wide culture particularly marked by his appreciation of literature. And then I think we all felt that he was so honest. He neither flattered nor decried. He combined charm, truth, and honor to a degree very rarely met with. He never sought popularity in any form; he just attained it. Though I have not seen him for years, news of his death hit me hard . . . I remember so many evenings when we drank (little) and smoked (much) together. Phil played the piano and sang, and charmed everybody into a happy oblivion. The seance was always a success if Phil was there . . . You can not say too much good of him."

As time went on Rhinelander's friendships became close, varied, and permanent. Not one of his friends expected to enter the ministry of the Anglican Communion. Of those whose letters have survived the years, "Fuzzy" Dessain entered the Roman priesthood and finally became chaplain to Cardinal Mercier; Ralph Kerr, a novice, later a priest of the London Oratory; Tom Longstaff studied medicine, indulged his passion for the mountains, becoming famous for his exploits among the Alps and Himalayas, at present holding office in the British Alpine Association; still another is associated with the London *Times*. These and others became permanent friends. They found their place

among Rhinelander's choicest Harvard friends and they remained true to the end. Their letters seem to take up and carry on the old Oxford companionships. They arrange for visits either in the United States, or in England, or on the continent. They breathe honor and affection, and active interest in each other's progress and welfare.

While he greatly enjoyed his English friends, Rhinelander reflected on their temperament and character: "I think the English mind is of a different type from ours—less impatient of results, and less carried away by rosy visions of 'Vasty vagueness.' We try to cover too much ground, that's the trouble . . . You are left to make your own beginnings here. Sympathy is a slow growth and not a spontaneous outburst! . . . English are decidedly lacking in 'gush'! Not that on the whole I have suffered from it, for in the end it will be good for me, only it has made it necessary to study ways and customs rather closely so as to find out how to approach people and how to get really into the college life. And I have learned a good deal of this sort of thing this term. So it has been valuable after all. I am convinced that we Americans . . . are too utterly dependent on sympathy and extraneous support. No doubt it is an interesting, charming and very human characteristic, but it kills self-reliance. I think that is where the English strength comes in. Their sympathies are less keen, so they need it from others less, and they live their own appropriate lives much less dependently on others than we do. I see it marked here in college, even among the freshmen. Much less morbid fear of peculiarity, much less anxious desire to propitiate the swells. The men seem simpler, more natural, more themselves here than at Harvard,

though on the other hand their simplicity is often ignorance and their naturalness leads them to utter disregard of others' thoughts and feelings. It's quite a different type of community civilization and is interesting to watch."

Mr. Thomas Longstaff, from whose letters I have quoted, has said that Rhinelander was awarded a First in theology. Obviously, a First is the highest degree that can be given. Rhinelander's preparation for it was fairly long and very thorough. At the General Theological Seminary he had taken the introductory courses necessary to further study, including Hebrew. One would naturally assume that at Oxford he would begin where he left off in New York. Such, however, was not the case. That was not Oxford's way. In those days Oxford would recognize no foreign university credits or degrees. One matriculated as a first-year man, wore the undergraduate bobtailed gown and "kept the gates" (being in one's rooms not much later than ten-thirty at night). And one began all over again in his studies. Rather drastic treatment for one who had a *cum laude* degree from Harvard, a year at the Harvard Law School, and a year at the General Theological Seminary! He was, therefore, five years older than the average Oxford candidate for the same degree. But so far as one knows, Rhinelander not only never complained of the conditions necessary to admission, but welcomed them and was happy to take full advantage of them. More than once, one has known him to hark back to the reasonable and thorough Oxford system. Although he had undoubtedly taken full advantage of his American opportunities, he was now going to let the English have their way with him.

His Greek and Latin classics were sufficient, but he

needed more Hebrew. He refreshed his mind on the former; he took some stiff drill in the latter. Under excellent direction he filled in the holes in his previous education. The first year was given over largely to this preparation for the more advanced and detailed theological demands of the next two years. He was fully aware that the English system had more to do with laying sound foundations than the instruction he had had in his native land.

As at Harvard College and at the Harvard Law School Rhinelander had been under the instruction of excellent teachers, so it was at Oxford. And as at the Law School he had listened to pioneers in a new method of dealing with the Law, so at Oxford he read for his degree in a rather revolutionary period. During the eighties and nineties, the Higher Criticism, having gained a fine momentum in Germany, had won the loyalty of many English and American scholars. In England, Professor S. R. Driver was among the earliest converts to the new and rather radical treatment of the Old Testament. He had written his *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, a book "describing Hebrew syntax on lines at once philosophical and scientific with the result that all modern study of Hebrew has been founded on the 'Tenses.'" "He taught the faithful criticism and the critics faith." His *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* was published in 1891, only two years before Rhinelander went to Oxford. Driver was about fifty years old at the time and at the height of his powers as a teacher and writer. "In Hebrew I am doing rather complicated exercises—English into Hebrew—which are rather perplexing, but certainly do teach one the construction and method of the language," and, in another letter to his sister, "I sit

under Driver three hours a week. His subject is Isaiah, in English of course, and he is dry beyond expression. Still you get a lot of accurate information from him."

In the New Testament, the instruction was probably less radical, more cautious than that in Germany, more controlled by the time-honored religious convictions. "Then I go to Locke three times a week. He lectures in Oriel Hall on St. Paul's Epistles, text and exegesis. He is emphatically a scholar, enthusiastic too with very clear discriminating 'sense of proportion,' but actually the care he has to use limits him. He is awfully cautious in everything—questions of readings, interpretations and genuineness—he never commits himself outright where there are disputes, he only tells what he thinks 'probable in the main.' Of course you feel at once you can trust him and sympathize with his self-suppression and fairmindedness. To me he is perfectly satisfactory—infinitely better and more interesting than any commentary I ever read. I wish some of the Seminary people could be exported and made to sit at his feet awhile, so as to realize that you can hardly 'hope to stifle controversy by anathematizing the controversialists,' as Bright put it yesterday. It's not a new idea, but it has not penetrated Chelsea Square at last accounts."

"In Church History, William Bright, the unique Church historian. I go to him three times a week—Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 12. I wish you could see and hear him. Of all men I ever came in contact with he is the most impossible to describe. In the first place he is a crank, if judged by any ordinary social standards. Thin, woolly, spectacles on end of nose and never used, generally upside down, but never absent, absent-minded, nervous, with a

baffling way of jerking out his words in lots of ten or twelve, but as a lecturer and as a man too simply delightful. Saturated with his subject, full of enthusiasm, he fairly revels in his lectures, and tells little anecdotes about various majestic personages with malicious humour and great unction. When he sees a good story ahead of him about Constantine or Athanasius or Arius, he puts his hands on his hips, swings vehemently from side to side, and lets his mouth and eyes get started on a smile which reaches its climax with the story's point and magnetises his audience into a snicker. He is distinctly the best lecturer I have heard here (except Illingworth, whose whole method and manner are different) really putting his personality into what he says and giving the whole thing life and vividness and fresh meaning—of course this is the very essence of lecturing and it is a gift singularly lacking among Oxford dons. Most of them read or rather dictate from manuscript, and, however sound and accurate and learned their matter may be, one is sometimes tempted to think that reading books would be just about as good and would save taking notes."

Possibly, however, the teacher from whom Rhinelander gained his most satisfactory New Testament and historical points of view was William Sanday. During Rhinelander's undergraduate days Sanday was in his early fifties. Tall, rather gray, already appearing somewhat frail, speaking with hesitation and with a trembling voice, he gave the impression of a much older man. But none of these qualities appeared in his thought. Along with Harnack and Kattenbusch of Germany, he was an authority on the history and interpretation of the Apostles' Creed. In fact, it

was in Rhinelander's last year at Oxford that Sanday delivered his lectures, not only on the history of the creed, but on the history of the history, reviewing the suggestions and the results that had already come to his attention. One remembers the wide and deep knowledge he brought to the critical task, the fairness with which he dealt with ideas with which he could not agree, the tentative and modest way in which he expressed his own views—always speaking of them as possible, not necessarily as probable—the vividly religious apprehension of the meaning of each clause of the creed as a whole. Rhinelander, as well as many men of his academic generation, found Sanday's scholarship and religion very reassuring. They could build on it, both in thought and practice.

From a more or less strictly religious point of view, Rhinelander found Robert C. Moberly the teacher who appealed to him most strongly, and the one whose influence, referred to time and time again, was to direct and rule his thinking. Moberly had come to Oxford the year before Rhinelander's arrival, in his fiftieth year, as the Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology and Canon of Christ Church. As such he lived only eleven years. It was his books, *The Ministerial Priesthood* and *Atonement and Personality*, that were to express Rhinelander's conception of the history and idea of the priesthood. Throughout his life Rhinelander was repeatedly harking back to Moberly. Moberly was an embodiment of the best of the Oxford Movement, along with a willingness to accept further enlightenment offered by scholarship.

The Oxford type of education was, and still is, excellent. Its primary characteristic is the tutor. That a student may

be for three years in close and sympathetic contact with a mind superior to his own is no small opportunity. And when one remembers that while Rhinelander was at Harvard one might pass through the four years without meeting a teacher except in the lecture-room or socially, one may appreciate the change in method into which he now passed, and with what enthusiasm he welcomed it. It was the antipodes of the modified German system of which President Eliot was the protagonist, although Dr. Eliot may not be blamed for some of the unfortunate consequences of it.

During the late war I tried to get in touch with Thomas B. Strong, Rhinelander's tutor. With no answer to the first letter, the second brought word that he had recently died. Would that I had been able to secure Dr. Strong's story of their years together at Oxford and of their life-long friendship! Thomas Strong was about ten years older than Rhinelander. He had won a First in classical honor "Mods" and a few years later the Bachelor of Divinity degree (the equivalent of our Th.D.). Subsequently he became an Honorary Doctor of Music, Dean of Christ Church, Bishop of Ripon and Bishop of Oxford, and Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. He was the author of books on ethics, religion, and music, a composer and the editor of the *Oxford Hymnbook*.

Rhinelander's tutor and he would meet in a most friendly manner, in the former's rooms, over a cup of tea (probably three cups), and gradually get down to work on the subject for the day. Having been assigned a subject, Rhinelander would read a carefully prepared paper. The tutor, having covered the ground with distinction himself, would then draw attention to correct or incorrect statements, or

to legitimate or illegitimate inferences. As he was undoubtedly one of the most competent of tutors, he would then draw out in a most Socratic manner his student's ideas. Based on this informal and intimate personal association —on Rhinelander's respect for his tutor, and on the tutor's increasing familiarity with his student's mind—those subjects and lectures would be recommended which would best fill in the deficiencies of previous education and meet the requirements of the theological degree.

Under such direction he was assured of a sufficient mastery of Hebrew, and of the Greek and Latin classics, and of New Testament Greek as the indispensable foundation for further study. In the companionship of his tutor, and with Driver, Locke, Bright, Sanday, and Moberly as his lecturers, he went on to the mastery of the fundamentals of biblical, historical, and theological criticism, theory and fact. The whole discipline had largely, not altogether, to do with origins.

It was a concentrated and rigorous discipline, utterly unlike the outline and somewhat diffuse and all-inclusive methods so common at that time to some of the theological schools of the United States and also to some of the universities.

A glance at the school of theology examination papers which were given Rhinelander will reveal what was expected of him, and, by the way, the quality of Oxford training in those days—

Elementary Hebrew: Translate (a passage from Genesis) with short notes on the language where necessary. Translate with grammatical notes (a half-page of pointed text).² Point and translate (a half-page

² Points are vowels.

of unpointed text). Re-translate into pointed Hebrew (a quarter page of Genesis in English).

A general paper on the Holy Scriptures: "State briefly the connection in which the following passages occur." Specimen passages and questions—"Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people"; "But if a man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed"; "What was the political and religious state of the Jews under the kings of Persia?"

A detailed paper on the Books of Samuel and on Psalms I-XLI, and of Isaiah, demanding meticulous information on meaning and context.

Passages from St. Luke's and St. John's Gospels for translation and short notes and with re-translations of other passages into Greek. General questions on the Epistles of St. Paul, together with an exhaustive paper on the Epistle to the Romans with translations and explanations, and, in some cases, asking for the permanent theological significance.

Church history: Certain sources in Greek and Latin with translation. General questions on the First Four Councils, for example, "What are our contemporary sources of knowledge respecting the proceedings at the Council of Nicaea?" "What progress was made during the period of the Councils in the evangelization of the heathen nations?"

Natural theology and revelation: Specimen questions—"How far can morality be said to have grown up independently of revelation?" "What is the nature of Religious Certainty?"

Dogmatic and symbolic theology: Greek and Latin texts for translation, historical situations, explanatory notes, fundamental problems.

At times the method may have seemed somewhat unrelated to the problems of the present day. Undoubtedly, in some ways, improvement was called for. But, after all, one can not cover more than a limited area of study, and one must remember that the conditions prevailing today are in great measure due to causes prevalent so long ago. Men and movements of Old Testament, New Testament, and early Christian days lie at the heart of modern ecclesiastical,

theological, and religious theory and practice. One finds little to criticize in the contribution to present day living of those who have taken full advantage of the type of theological education to which Rhinelander so willingly submitted. They have built upon firm foundations, and the building process has continued throughout their lives. Contemptuous of superficiality, Rhinelander was not only contented with his theological beginnings, he was then and continuously ardent in his demand for a thorough preparation for the ministry.

Along with his reading and recreation Rhinelander was meeting and hearing men of note. To his sister "Minnie" he wrote: "I don't think I ever wrote you about my hearing the Bishop of Lincoln [Edward King] preach at St. Mary's Sunday before last. It was really an historic occasion and I wouldn't have missed it for the world. It was one of the best sermons I ever heard—tho' it is rather hard to say just why. Perhaps Tommy Strong put it as well as it can be put when he said it was 'purely Apostolic.' From the first word to the last there was no sort of possibility given of getting into a critical frame of mind, even had one wished to, something about him, a sort of spiritual atmosphere, completely disarmed criticism, and with no attempt at eloquence, no 'splurging,' no philosophy, no 'striking phrases,' he held the huge audience simply spell-bound. There was a tone of hopefulness, and perfect certainty and eager sympathy and affection all through his sermon which told more than what he actually said . . .

"Then that same evening there was a big combination meeting in the House Hall of the Christ Church Mission and Oxford House People. Ingram [J. Winnington-Ingram,

later Bishop of London] made a splendid address and quite carried away the audience that filled every corner of the Hall. I must spend a month or two at the Oxford House some vac. if only for the sake of getting to know him. Friday night last I took supper at the Pusey House, and had a very fine evening, tho' the fare was of the fish and egg variety—very good tho'. I stayed an hour or two talking with Ottley, who managed to rescue me entirely from rather a dismal state I had sunk into (for no special reason) and I have remained almost hilarious ever since.

"Last Sunday evening I heard Gore preach at St. Barnabas, a Trinity sermon on the 'pure in heart shall see God,' splendid, simple, profound, popular in the best sense, and theological at the same time. He looked very worn and thin and kept slapping at his chest from time to time in rather an ominous way. I confess that I was somewhat disconcerted with the 'carryings-on' in the chancel and elsewhere. St. Barnabas is *most advanced*. It was the first real effort of the kind I had ever seen. I was rather humiliated to find that I could not rise superior to it, but was gradually worked into a state of 'low church' fanaticism, painful and consuming and extremely bitter. I longed to execute a flank movement on the red alcolites (sic) and censers and countless candles and glittering banners and 'break up the show' as we used to say at Harvard."

In another letter to "Min" he writes: "Arriving on Friday evening obviously the first event of any interest was the Bampton Lecture, which was the best of the series so far, I think. See if you don't agree with me when you read the book—it will be No. 5. I am so thoroughly in sympathy with his point of view that it is a perfect delight to

hear him. I don't mean to say that I have any point of view of my own, for of course I can't have yet, only I think every mind must have certain tendencies—or rather certain avenues of approach by which things come home to it and can be more or less assimilated. I know at all events that I find the food Illingworth supplies suited to my taste.

"The following Wednesday evening I went to a meeting of the Christian Social Union at Trinity. I think I told you I joined it last term. There are meetings every other Wednesday when papers are read followed by what is supposed to be a general discussion, but in reality confined to two or three old hands who aren't afraid of the sound of their own voices as is most of the undergraduate contingent when there are dons about. Lang, Divinity Dean of Magdalen [later Archbishop of York and afterwards of Canterbury] and a rising theological star, spoke last time of industrial organization. He spoke remarkably well and most of his lecture was very interesting, especially his historical sketch of the beginnings and growth of organization since 1830 or so. But when he got on to theory and began talking economics, though my sympathies were with him and I tried hard to make myself take his point of view, I could not manage it . . . It is talking in the air, I think taking hold of the wrong end."

As these words are written I remember Rhinelander and his tutor standing together near the main gate of Tom Quad. It would be difficult to picture two men more genial, more enthusiastic, more intelligent. Their work together and their daily association were nearly over. In June 1896, Rhinelander was given his First in theology. Not

long afterward, he wrote a modest letter to a relative: "Dear Auntie, I know you will be glad to hear of my success in the late examinations. The honour list was posted a few hours ago and I found myself figuring among the first class men. It is a most joyous and unexpected bit of success for me, especially as I could not do myself justice in some of the papers owing to the peculiar and unusual strain. Even at my best I feel I don't deserve it . . ."

The Oxford years were now over. The experience had been perfect from every point of view—his recreation, his friends, his teachers, Anglican traditions, convictions matured and strengthened. Taken together, these, along with the influences of his home, his childhood and young-manhood parish, and Dr. Coit and St. Paul's School, were to be the completely satisfactory atmosphere of his life-long thought and action. He had discovered himself to be a *Lux Mundi* Christian. Some of the authors of chapters in that epoch-making book had been his friends and teachers—among others, Ottley, Illingworth, and Gore, editor and co-author. They and their associates were "upholders of catholic tradition and the sacramental system," and on this basis they affirmed that the Church "is able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its place to all new knowledge, to throw herself into the sanctification of each new social order."³ Primarily, they were neither ritualists nor ceremonialists. Rather, they were intelligent and active supporters of the "higher" Anglican tradition. Within this companionship, Rhinelander had found his perfect freedom.

³ F. Warre Cornish, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, Part II, p. 350. Used with the permission of The Macmillan Company

After some weeks of visits and travel, he sailed homeward in midsummer. His sister and her husband, Dr. Rives, were with him on the ship. Some of us who were on the same boat had an opportunity to notice how close and sympathetic was the relationship between brother and sister, for not only was there the unusually warm family affection, but they had in common strong religious and theological interests based on the reading of the same books. They had kept in intimate touch throughout their lives up to that point; they were to maintain that lovely and helpful relationship for many years to come.

CHAPTER IV

The Parish Ministry

AFTER RETURNING to the United States from England and Oxford, Rhinelander was ready for the practical work of the ministry.

It was natural that he should at once go to his friend and former rector, Henry Yates Satterlee, recently consecrated as the first Bishop of Washington, and, under his direction, prepare for ordination to the diaconate.

As it will be seen when reading of the early stages in the development of the College of Preachers, the influence, the purpose, and the point of view of Bishop Satterlee were to be a constant, controlling factor in all that Rhinelander did or was to do. As the rector of the Rhinelander family parish in New York, Dr. Satterlee had had a part in forming Rhinelander's religion and type of Churchmanship. Furthermore, he had inspired in him the profoundest respect for the missionary character of the Church. Dr. Satterlee was one whom a young man could respect.

In a memorial sermon which Rhinelander preached shortly after the Bishop's death he said of him: "He had great manhood, rich with all the graces, quick with all the sensibilities of manliness, robust, courageous, pure, just, tender, patient, kind, simple, and sincere. Yet it was not

mere manhood, at least not independent manhood. Its elevation was its humbleness; its strength was in its frank dependence; its constant purity was the daily gift of cleansing penitence, the seal of God's perpetual forgiveness. His manhood witnessed to, was revealed by, something greater than itself, something from which it drew its greatness. 'God shined in his heart.' And we felt and knew it by the marks of God's Presence which we found in him, by the gifts of vision, hope, and joy that God had given him." What more natural than that a young man should delight to work under the direction of the Bishop! And, in Rhinelander's sketch of Bishop Satterlee in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, he has written of one of the Bishop's books, *Creedless Gospel and Gospel Creed*, "In it he has endeavored to show that Christianity is not a mere human aspiration, but a dramatic self-revealing of God in the Person of Jesus Christ, not only in past history, but in present experience. This creed was the center of his faith and the source of his spiritual power." Rhinelander might have described his own faith then and later in the same words. His books, to be written many years afterward, harp on the same august theme.

After ordination in the autumn of 1896, the Bishop gave Rhinelander and three other young men the charge of some missions in the city of Washington. All but one of these men Rhinelander had known for some years. Walden Meyer was of Rhinelander's day at Harvard; they were to remain firm friends until the former's death not many years later. Charles Harris Hayes had been a contemporary at the General Theological Seminary and a member of the luncheon club at Oxford, a few years after-

ward to become professor of theology at the General Theological Seminary. William Levering DeVries was to become a canon of the Washington Cathedral, and expert examining chaplain, the president of the Commission on the Ministry, and, as such, one of Rhinelander's strong supporters during the latter's years as warden of the College of Preachers. These men and, subsequently, Frank M. Gibson, Thomas J. Packard, Richard P. Williams, Frank H. Barton, G. Freeland Peter, and William Morgan-Jones, later to be Rhinelander's brother-in-law, were to assist the Bishop in any way the Bishop thought wise. From this group the bishop chose his examining chaplains, Rhinelander, DeVries, and Hayes being in fairly constant service—an instance of the Bishop's confidence in well-trained men, however young they might be.

When Bishop Satterlee put these men at work he had a double intention, details of both of which were carried out. They were to discharge the duties of pastors; they were to devote definite hours daily to study; they were to preach; they were to go from house to house to know, to help, and to instruct their people. Beyond this, however, they were almost at once to become teachers of the younger clergy with whom they were to be in somewhat continuous contact. One is at first somewhat surprised that the Bishop was willing to put such confidence in these young men—all of whom had been ordained so recently. But the Bishop knew what he was about. He had chosen the men with care. Each was a man of thorough training under the best of scholars and clergy, of intellectual and spiritual power, of unlimited belief in the nature and function of the Church, and of missionary enthusiasm. And, as

the experience of each of them was later to prove, each was equal to the confidence placed in him by the Bishop. They fitted into the Bishop's plans admirably. The missions and parishes over which these young men were put were well served; their careful study continued; the still younger clergy were thoroughly introduced into the detail and meaning of their ministries. The Bishop's ideals could hardly have been placed in more competent and devoted hands.

Toward the end of this chapter of Rhinelander's early ministry, he was elected rector of the parish of St. Alban's, where the same type of ministry continued, although for one short year only. Without cessation, however, Rhinelander was kept in intimate touch with the Bishop's plans and accomplishment. The two were like father and son, and their relationship was based, as has already been suggested, not only on mutual regard and affection, but also on a community of ideas in regard to the nature of the Church and the quality of ministry essential to its welfare. Rhinelander was proud of the association. Later in life he was to hark back to it, gladly confessing that Bishop Satterlee's conception of the ministry and of the Church lay at the heart of his own.

Not long before accepting the charge of St. Alban's, Rhinelander was ordained to the priesthood. He had asked Dr. J. H. Coit, headmaster of St. Paul's School, brother and successor of the first headmaster, to preach the ordination sermon. Dr. Coit did so with pleasure and satisfaction, writing a few days later: "I won't tell you how pleasant it was to be with you at such a sacred time . . . While you made your promises for the first time I renewed mine of many years back—renewed them with the advantage of

knowing now what a blessed privilege it is to be allowed to make them, to what a benediction to one's life the office brings—in its work, its ministries, its consolations, its closeness to Him to whom the service is given. I hope that nobody has given you the *De Imitatione* or Bishop Andrewes's *Preces Latine et Graece*. I sent to the other side for special copies and there has been delay. When mine comes, you must, if you have others, let mine displace them."

According to habit already formed and destined happily to continue throughout his life, Rhinelander was keeping in touch with his English friends. He had told some of those nearest him of the coming ordination. Robert Ottley, of whom Rhinelander had seen much at Pusey House, in the lecture room, and personally, wrote: "Dear Philip: As on a former occasion, your letter reached me just in time for me to have you in mind on your ordination day. I was so glad to hear, and you must not think that I forget, or shall forget, our happy intercourse at Oxford. It is one of the things that has become a permanent part of my experience—for I really think you are the first American friend I have come to know pretty intimately. And now let me wish you two things—first, all possible blessing in this new year . . . secondly, all joy and peace in your life as a priest. May you come to understand more and more the dignity and excellency of your ministry—its power for blessing and raising men. I do trust that both of us, as time goes on, will come to take deeper and higher views of our common work . . . God bless you very much. Do write to me sometimes. I shall always be glad to hear of you, Philip."

His former tutor also remembered him on the day: "Dear

Rhinelander: Your letter was given to me at breakfast in Durham Castle, just before we went to the Cathedral for ordination. I thought of you constantly all through, and wondered greatly how it looks on the other side of the Atlantic. In Durham it looked as if it had always been going on. Everything was as old as the hills (Bishop included) except the candidates. And it was all done under the gloom of a rather choice English fog. But it was very happy and very real. I am very glad that you are ordained Priest. I think the Diaconate is rather a vexatious time. People are ordained enough to see what they ought to be doing and, in some measure, what is possible to the ordained, and yet not enough to do the things the need of which they see. Your year must have been very trying through the transplanting process of which you speak. I know you don't like transplanting. I hope it will all come right now. I can not help thinking that town work would be more interesting than that in the country, though possibly more difficult and exacting . . . The Dean is very well and happy and so I think is Mrs. Paget. Moberly has brought out an immense work on Ministerial Priesthood. I have read it with great joy. It is rather tough work, but you feel Moberly all over it—especially in little ironies here and there, and in the immensely qualified form of his statements. Bright still bubbles without consonants, and Driver still preaches in the obscure dialect of Chaldee."

The "immense work on Ministerial Priesthood," referred to in the last letter is mentioned in the next: "My dear Rhinelander: I have asked Mr. Murray to send you a copy of a volume—of which I am at least able to feel sure that

you do not already possess it! I do not suppose that he will be in a position to send it for a week or two, but this is to forestall its arrival, and to ask you to receive it gently when it comes. It is a *great* pleasure to me to be able to ask you to receive it, for I think of you always with the greatest gratitude and joy—and have been much ashamed of my silence toward you, on more than one occasion.

“The ‘Friday evenings’ are going on this year; and we have been daring enough to attempt to grapple at close quarters with no less a problem than Illingworth’s Bampton Lectures! This term I suppose will carry us just half way through. There is one thing that I should much like to ask you to do—if you would. *Please grow fatter!* And don’t forget the old advice of the good Bishop of Lincoln to young men—to work and plan out their work in the wisest proportion, upon *the hypothesis that they would have to live and work on up to seventy!* I do trust all is well with you. Ever, with the kindest remembrances and good wishes, Yours most truly, R. C. Moberly. Ch. Ch. [Christ Church] St. Andrew’s Day, 1897.”

By these letters it will be seen that Rhinelander carried his English friends and traditions along with him through his varying experiences. They were congenial friends and congenial experiences.

The quality of Rhinelander’s ministry at St. Alban’s differed little from that of the previous months at St. Mark’s Pro-Cathedral. In reality his ministry at St. Alban’s varied little in essential character from the controlling motive of his ministry, whatever form it took in the following years. In all things it was centered in the personal welfare of individuals. He would read, study, think, com-

mune, in order that he might commend to his people the traditional Anglican view of the Christian faith. He would serve them and inspire them by a faith which to him was not only altogether reasonable, but one which might be of practical daily application.

While a parish priest, he kept a meticulously careful record of his activities—where he was, the date, the subject and text of his sermons. From the beginning, he planned his addresses and sermons with almost over-logical thoroughness. Possibly he remembered almost too well his Harvard discipline in composition. He ran the risk of allowing the form to drain the life from the content. Occasionally he called on his congregations for almost too much concentrated thought. But all the while he carried them along with the richness and the vividness of his own vital faith. Then, as always, he was primarily a sacramentalist. However sufficient Morning and Evening Prayer, and other offices of the Book of Common Prayer might be, they drew their value from the Office of Holy Communion. He was constant in house-to-house visitation, at his best and noblest in personal conversation and counselling. That his influence was remembered over many years is seen in the affectionate message of congratulation sent him by the charter, active, and honorary members of the St. Alban's Chancel Guild at the time of his election to the bishopric of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Then, as throughout his ministry, Rhinelander loved best his priestly activities.

Some of his parishioners at St. Alban's remember him as rather shy and reserved on first acquaintance: "He was not easy to approach, but when the people understood him

they liked him, and found him very sympathetic to their needs"; "His manners were very gracious." Apparently the young people were his primary interest, and he was tireless in his effort to build up the Sunday School. Then, as later, people differed in their estimate of him as a preacher, some remembering him as earnest and concise, measuring his thought with the minds of his congregation, while others charitably recall his immaturities. Also, then, as later, the congregation noticed his fondness for texts and subjects suggested by the Epistle and the Gospel of the day —marking his profound belief in thought suggested by the Church Year.

He co-operated with his people in remodelling the parish structure so that it might more readily meet the current needs. But more impressive than any or all of these details is the description of him so frequently repeated in later years. One whom he prepared for confirmation, who also watched his ministry as Bishop of Pennsylvania and as warden of the College of Preachers, says of him, "A more saintly man I have never known."

Along with his parochial duties ran those of a wider area. He was the Bishop's chaplain from 1897 to 1903. The Bishop continued to need him as an examining chaplain and in the training of the younger clergy in the obligations of their office. Officially only indirectly, but unofficially very directly, he was familiar with the Bishop's ideals, physical, and spiritual, for the new cathedral. His apprenticeship had in reality begun; his experience was maturing, as if in preparation for his years in theological schools, for his own episcopate in Pennsylvania, for his subsequent membership in the Cathedral Chapter, and for

the beginning and development of the College of Preachers.

A singular and altogether unexpected fate took him from the parish life he loved and in which he had found his perfect freedom. He met it superbly. In July, 1903, he wrote to Miss Helen Hamilton, to whom he was not yet engaged, but whom he was to marry within two years: "I wonder whether my rather lamentable smashup has found its way to you? . . . I came to grief just five weeks ago—something like nervous prostration, but luckily avoiding it. My heart went a little wrong—and will take some time to right itself entirely. Meanwhile I am a half cripple—without employment and freedom. I spent four weeks in Washington in a suburban rectory—St. Alban's where I have good friends and feel perfectly at home—and came on here [Newport] to be with Ethel two days ago and here I stay at least for several weeks. I have had to cancel everything, and have finally decided to give my parish work up for the present and take up teaching at Berkeley, at any rate until I am standing firmly on my feet again . . ."

After seven short years of this ministry, of untiring study, teaching, and calling from house to house, Rhinelander had broken down. He had not spared himself; he had done too much. But he had already been a parish priest subject to the severest tests; he had acquitted himself well; he knew the value of the Church in theory and in practice; he had strengthened his ideals for the ministry. He had a calm trust in his Heavenly Father; he was ready for whatever work Providence might call on him to do.

It was not easy for him to think that the immediate experience was to be of some months duration, and one of complete inactivity. The doctors had sent him home to

Newport. He had submitted at once and cheerfully to the toughest routine that one can demand of an active man—nothing but the employments that entail a minimum of physical effort. His heart was weak. He was not allowed to climb the stairs—any steps up or down were forbidden him. That was hard on one of rangy and supple build, a good oar, more than an average tennis player, an indefatigable cyclist. But he accepted it all with characteristic patience and courage. With Newman, he might have thought that "he still had a work to do."

The months of enforced rest were not to go for naught. Reading and thought and friendship filled the days. Obedience to the physician's directions brought its reward. In the autumn, he was ready to accept the somewhat less physically exacting ministry as professor of Church history at the Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Connecticut. Some months before he accepted the offer, Dr. Binney, professor of Hebrew, one of the noble members of a noble faculty in that famous school, had visited Rhinelander and put the thought into his mind. The decision was not sudden. The closing months of 1903 found him living in bachelor's quarters in Middletown, keen to help in any way he might.

CHAPTER V

The Berkeley Divinity School

THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, at the time Rhinelander joined its faculty, had had an honorable record of about fifty years. Its founder and first dean was Bishop John Williams of Connecticut, who, for forty-five years, gave the school the healthy impress of his sterling character and warm-hearted and intelligent religion. Significantly, he had named the school after Bishop George Berkeley, "philosopher, educator, and missionary," who, fortified with "half the property" of Swift's Vanessa, Miss Vanhomrigh, with the income of the "rich deanery of Derry," and with a promise of twenty thousand pounds from the government, set sail to found educational institutions in the Bermudas and American Colonies. As the government failed to fulfill its promise, his stay in Rhode Island, not far from the sea, was spent "in retirement and study." However, his sojourn in this country was long enough to leave lively traditions and an influence of a healthy nature. "He interested himself in many Church and educational projects in the colonies, and became a benefactor of Yale College, establishing there the first graduate scholarships in America and enriching its library with a valuable collection of books. The Berkeley Divinity School was founded

on the one hundredth anniversary of Bishop Berkeley's death, and its removal to New Haven commemorated the two hundredth anniversary of his coming to America." Quite evidently he had captured the imagination of Bishop Williams. Throughout those years of the Bishop's deanship many men of loyal Churchmanship and thoughtful, practical religion had gone out into the Church, leaving the indelible marks of the Dean's personality.

After Bishop Williams' death in 1899, Dr. John Binney, thoroughly in sympathy with the tone of the school as created by the Bishop, a biblical scholar and teacher of distinction and a man of strong and friendly character, succeeded to the deanship, retaining that office until his death in 1908. Rhinelander's professorship at Berkeley fell within the years of that genial and co-operative administration.

While Rhinelander was still at St. Alban's, and a few weeks before his health gave way, Dean Binney, with the unanimous consent of his trustees, offered him the chair of Church history. Dr. Frederick Kinsman, already a friend of Rhinelander's, and, until his reception into the Roman Church some years later, an increasingly intimate friend, had occupied the chair for the previous three years, much to the satisfaction of all concerned. He had recently accepted a call to the General Theological Seminary. Dean Binney and others had hoped that Kinsman might stay and with Rhinelander give greater strength to the teaching staff. Under such conditions Rhinelander was to be virtually free to teach what he pleased, although it was hoped that he would accept the chair of pastoral theology. Dr. Binney had taken the measure of his man when he wrote in one of his cordial, friendly, and persuasive letters:

"In seeking you as a successor to Kinsman it is principally your personality that we want. The subject or subjects for which you would be responsible will be a matter of arrangement."

In the midst of these negotiations Rhinelander's health failed. Dean Binney's letters were full of sympathy and encouragement, telling Rhinelander to abandon himself to his cure and to take all the time needed for sound convalescence, even though that might not mean his arrival at Berkeley for months to come. Encouraged by such friendly counsel, Rhinelander, thinking that the work of a teacher would be less physically exacting than that of a parish priest, convinced that a sound training in the experience of the Church throughout the centuries was essential to a useful ministry, eager to lend a hand in the moulding of character and thought, finally accepted the offer, and in the autumn of 1903 moved to Middletown and began his work.

Although Rhinelander had never had in mind teaching in general, nor the teaching of Church history in particular, he was qualified to undertake it. His personality was more than usually attractive; he made friends easily and strongly; he won the respect of young men; he had been carefully drilled in history under the best of masters; he had met with success the most gruelling of scholarly tests; for some years he had been an examiner of men entering the ministry. Naturally, not having had teaching in mind, he lacked the experience and that concentration on one subject which good teaching demands. He knew, however, that time would care for those limitations. He also knew that there would be little call for the direction

of advanced historical study. Here again, time would qualify him for any activity of that kind.

He settled down among those who were to be congenial and scholarly friends: Dean Binney, professor of the literature and interpretation of the Old Testament, and chaplain; vice-dean, the Rev. Samuel Hart; Bishop Williams, professor of doctrinal theology and of the Prayer Book, also custodian of the Book of Common Prayer and secretary of the House of Bishops; the Rev. William Allen Johnson, professor emeritus of Church history; The Rev. Samuel Rakestraw Colladay, professor of the literature and interpretation of the New Testament; the Rev. Albert Francis Tenney, instructor in elocution and the use of the voice; from 1904-1907, the Rev. William Palmer Ladd, first instructor and then professor of Church history; during 1906-1907, the Rev. Henry Boardman Vanderbogart, instructor in Hebrew. They were a fine and devoted group of men, respected by each other and their students, fully competent to carry on the honorable traditions of the school. Into this good fellowship Rhinelander entered.

From the outset of its history Berkeley, like some of the other schools of the Episcopal Church, had had a small enrollment—never more than twenty-five in Rhinelander's day. With this limited population faculty and student might know one another intimately, and the students might be given much personal attention. Berkeley was more a large family than a small institution.

As Rhinelander was not then married he had rooms on the second floor of the old Jarvis House, Dr. Hart occupying the ground floor. When, a year later, Dr. Ladd joined the faculty, Rhinelander and Ladd took a house in Wash-

ington Street—the house in which Rhinelander continued to live after his marriage and throughout his stay at Berkeley. During the short time that Rhinelander and Ladd lived together some of the students took their meals with them. One of these men remembers those days vividly. The informality of the relationship was an attractive feature of school life, especially the custom of playing games for a while after the evening meal—"sides were chosen and games played with enthusiasm and pleasure." In those days friendships were begun and cemented for a lifetime—"To all of us it was a year of joy and profit. When we left the School his [Rhinelander's] influence and friendship continued, one had but to write him and soon would receive the desired information and help." "The life we'll all remember is the life which not only worked with us, but also laughed and played with us."

Another letter of similar tenor from a student of those days: "I remember him as a slender, delicate young professor, of nervous temperament and sensitive nature. His stuttering was more pronounced than in later life. In order to avoid strain upon his heart he was in the habit of going upstairs backward at one time. But his physical frailty seemed to enhance the greatness of his soul. His brilliant intellect and ardent spirit gave him unusual charm. He had a keen sense of humor and laughed easily and very heartily. In fact he was of a happy disposition and was always a cheerful companion. But he would suddenly become very serious. One would become aware of the depth of his sympathy and love. One would feel 'Here is a man who knows the fellowship of Christ's sufferings.' As I recall his teaching in the class room I should say it was scholarly

and penetrating but didactic. As a teacher he took a personal interest in each of his small group of students. He and Ladd kept bachelors' hall in the Jackson House. They would have relays of the students in for meals. The conversations on those occasions were very stimulating and delightful. They used to advocate the celibacy of the clergy. I well remember the day Mr. Rhinelander's engagement appeared in the New York paper. We accused him of falling from grace. Mr. Rhinelander impressed me as a man detached from all love of riches. He practised self-denial and poverty of spirit. I remember one day he told me how he felt about wearing an overcoat lined with Persian lamb. He had received the costly coat as a gift but he would have felt more comfortable in a Franciscan cloak. I learned to love Mr. Rhinelander and our friendship lasted throughout his life. I have always been grateful for those days of fellowship with Ladd and Rhinelander at Berkeley."

This informal life, with its constant contact with the students, was modified somewhat by his marriage in the spring of 1905 to Helen Hamilton—only slightly, however, for it marked the beginning of many years of hospitality to students, both at Middletown and at Cambridge. Conferences with students, individually, and with the entire number, were common about his and Mrs. Rhinelander's hospitable hearth.

When Dr. Ladd joined the faculty in 1904, Rhinelander transferred to the chair of homiletics and pastoral care. It was an obvious step to take, for Ladd was already a highly trained historian, ready for the demand that might be made on his teaching ability and scholarship. And

Rhinelander not only had incomparable training in pastoral care under Dr. Moberly at Oxford, but also he had had six or seven years of parish life in association with his friend and advisor, Bishop Satterlee. The change was an acceptable and agreeable one to him. However, the year of history teaching was a valuable and constructive experience, for it reinforced his conviction that a knowledge of the sources of Church history and the experience based upon them was essential to an intelligent and useful Christian ministry.

As in every aspect of Rhinelander's life, whether in the parish, in the episcopate, or in the College of Preachers, his personality was his salient contribution. It was so at Berkeley. It may be, as one of his Berkeley students has said, "In the classroom his chief concern was for the welfare and progress of each one of us, he had the faculty of knowing what we were trying to say in answer to some question over which we were stumbling," and "he would come to our rescue, and no one who tried was ever allowed to become discouraged." Yet beyond and behind all this unselfish interest in his men was his personality—his vivid faith, his devotion to the Church, his enthusiasm for goodness and consecration. To the theologically and ecclesiastically sympathetic his teaching was good; to others it was careful, but not more than ordinary. But to all, there was a charm of manner, an enthusiasm for truth as he conceived it, and a desire to help that lifted one above the matter of form to that of personality. All knew that here was a man to whom religion was life.

Possibly the value of his days at Berkeley appears more clearly in his friendship with Professor Ladd than in any

other way. As has already been said, they shared a house for some months. This intimate association marked their congeniality. But, more than this, each was a strong Churchman, finding his perfect freedom within the Anglican Communion, having profound belief in the significance of the formularies of the Church and ready to drill this type of Catholicism into the minds of the students. These two learned to know each other well during those short three years at Berkeley, but an interchange of letters throughout their lives cemented and enriched the friendship. Professor, later Dean, Ladd's interest in, and enthusiasm for, liturgics is an outward sign of their deep sympathy.

While Rhinelander found stimulating friendship not only with Professor Ladd, but also in other ways with his other colleagues, and while he was directing the thought of his students and cultivating permanent friendships, he was beginning to show those signs of discontent which were to appear again in Cambridge, and later still while he was Bishop of Pennsylvania. Apparently, he had gone to Berkeley with the definite intention of standing for strongly conservative views in theology and ecclesiology. He was to go to Cambridge and Pennsylvania with the same purpose. At Berkeley he met his first disappointment, for there he found that, on the whole, the tendency of thought was more "liberal" than he liked. At first he seems to have been fairly patient. Gradually, however, his dignified impatience became apparent, and finally he told Bishop Brewster of his distrust in the temper of the school. The Bishop, a liberal conservative, having confidence in the faculty and in the students, was disturbed and asked

for detailed information. He could get only the satisfaction that came from knowing that Rhinelander was disappointed—Rhinelander's way of thought was not that of the majority. The Bishop knew that on the surface, at least, all was going well. He remained rather bewildered at Rhinelander's disappointment, for he knew that nothing could be finer than Rhinelander's devotion to his work with faculty and students, and that he never failed to take his part.

In view of this underlying disappointment one naturally looks for some sign of genuine satisfaction. And here again, one finds it where one found it in his work as a parish priest, and where one was to find it in Cambridge and Pennsylvania—in direct, personal pastoral association. In the activities that ran alongside and almost parallel to those of the school there was perfect satisfaction. He lectured with enthusiasm at Portland, Connecticut, on "The Bible and Modern Criticism." "Helen and I went to St. John Baptist's, a mission chapel, three miles beyond Portland, served by a student, this A.M. where I preached and celebrated. A fine lot of people, more than half men, sturdy, rough farmers, all present communicants and earnest and united. It was so far better than anything in New York could have been. Really one's disappointment in being here is for others. For ourselves no Easter could have been more satisfying—having one's own parish and friends." He accepted all the invitations his health would allow to go with the students to their missions, to conduct quiet days for deaconesses, Girls' Friendly societies, and other groups, and to celebrate and preach on Sundays and other days. In these, and other activities, he was at his best

and happiest. He could pour out his soul with perfect freedom. He seemed unhampered by any thought that he must guard the expression of his ideas. He felt free to say what he pleased in the way he pleased. He was not representing an institution other than the Church.

Yet one must not think that he was not transparently honest and sincere in all that he said and did within the institution. As a matter of fact, he was almost over-honest and over-sincere—so much so, that faculty and students were aware that he was not altogether in sympathy with current institutional thought and policies. They knew that he wanted outward signs of deeper personal consecration and of more explicit loyalty to the doctrines of the Church, interpreted more literally, and that his ideals in these respects were far from being realized. As he was called to the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge while he was in this unfortunate frame of mind, he may not have thought it worth while to press his convictions. However, again it may be said that this attitude of discontent was to appear at Cambridge and during the Pennsylvania episcopate.

His Berkeley days were not to be left undisturbed. He was already so well known and highly regarded as a parish priest that the demand for his services was increasing. While his reputation as a power within the Theological School was gaining headway, temptations were laid in his path. He wrote to a sister, "what do you say to my teaching N.T. in G.T.S. [New Testament in the General Theological Seminary]? *Keep it utterly dark* as yet. Some are said to want to nominate me. I have not said 'No' and may not. The Chair suddenly empty is to be filled in

June. I think it would be utterly a misfit—but can I now say that under *no* circumstances could I *think* of it? Or shall I let the nomination be made to stand, without committing myself?" Later he writes his sister—"G.T.S. affairs are '*in statu quo.*' The Dean (there) is said to want me especially (more than anyone). I have not *refused* nomination, waiting till Thursday to see Bishop Hall in New Haven . . . But I think it a sure and palpable misfit. The special preparation for it is enormous and exacting—with material pouring from all the presses and scholars of all the countries. Five years at least would be needed to get on even terms with *any* teacher in the business . . . No, unless I take it as *determined* life work, it would be too difficult and wearing. I have already broken ground in 3 years in 4 departments! I can no more. Let them fit the Chair to me if they want me to hold it down a while. Bishop Hall will know it all and help in all." One may see that Rhinelander was thinking carefully. But for some reason not quite clear the call evaporated. In the same letter, he continues: "Meanwhile there are Parishes to be fought off, or at least vestries to be dodged—Connecticut can *never* claim me, that much I know. Tho' we love the Bishop." One sees that not only another theological school was thinking seriously of him, but also that the long series of disturbing calls to parishes—a series that was to be continuous until his election to the episcopate—had begun.

His old preparatory school also made informal overtures to him. Rhinelander might have become an excellent headmaster. He admired the educational and religious traditions of the school. He would carry them on with conviction and enthusiasm. He was thoroughly familiar with

the English tradition on which St. Paul's was based. He had already proved himself a powerful, directing influence among young men. He had, while in the school, taken the highest rank in all the subjects in the curriculum. But what does he write to his sister? "I feel that St. Paul's headship is not 'prepared' for me, nor I for it . . . there are cumulative and complex indications." One may only guess what the "cumulative and complex" reasons were. Doubtless they were that he wanted to give all his time to religion, without being drawn away from its study and teaching by the problems incident to secular education.

Let it be said again that it was during these four years at Berkeley that he began to show the signs of discontent which were to manifest themselves again in Cambridge, and still more critically throughout the years of his diocesan episcopate. As one already knows, he was a non-ritualistic High Churchman, intelligently conservative, a close constructionist of the Creeds; he was also a man of self-discipline, having an orderly and fairly strict rule of life—regular periods of devotion, prayer, and reading. He was quite convinced that this double program was normal for right Catholicism and, therefore, that it was especially incumbent on those training for the ministry to represent this double standard. It is interesting to see how friendly he was with faculty and students, and how essentially happy he was in his work while his fundamental discontent was maturing. In fact, this *joie de vivre*, this enthusiasm, was, throughout his life, a constant accompaniment of his disappointment, whatever form the disappointment might take. To the average onlooker, or even close companion, his happiness rather than his unrest was the conspicuous mood.

His letters to his sister Minnie, especially during the years 1906 and 1907, are very frank. To her he pours out his soul, occasionally with bitterness, but, singularly, never with discouragement. He might think that the present opportunity offered little prospect for the fulfillment of his ideals, but there was always a promising future. "I think my only real cross now is the atmosphere of the school and diocese! The deadness of it grows on me, and the impossibility of breaking down and opening up. But there may be changes and opportunities in the near future, and we are planning at any rate for another year." As to school life, he wrote, "I am feeling that my fight for a new policy and tone is hopeless—that all I can do is for *individuals* by way of *counteraction*. Something is being done in this line. Sill of the O.H.C. [Order of the Holy Cross] was here Tuesday of last week for a Quiet Day, and it was the *best* thing that has happened here since I came. The boys one and all responded as to a *new* vision—but the *tone* of the school, the 'high dryness' of its mechanical tradition, will go on just the same and the stimulus for most will peter out! This puts the problem of my life in a nutshell. And more and more I look for a release *expectantly* at the end of this year—but *willing* to stay longer. Osler is wrong as to all the limitations of the '2 score' period—but aggressive enthusiasm is more natural this side of 40, and more timely—and with only three years of such life left I want a *free* field. Lowrie was here Friday before last, very radical and cynically dogmatic, giving a great shaking up to Dr. Hart, which can do nothing but good."

In the spring of 1907, while he was considering a call to the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, and after

he had an interview with the Cambridge teachers, he wrote "Cambridge impresses me as very keen and very much alive—as different from this as light from darkness and yet distinctly narrow in intellect, and self-sufficient, and therefore *not* holding the key of the future."

After a somewhat hasty and superficial description of the individual members of the Cambridge faculty, he continues—"The students were a fine-looking lot of men. Everything is alive, eager and on its mettle, and undoubtedly they send their men out prepared to work and do all they know how. Returning here was like coming to the dead bones of Ezekiel, and yet, if *these* could live, it would bless the Church ten-fold more than all the eager narrowness of Cambridge. But I see no prospect of . . . miracle, rather an inevitable 'removing of the candlestick.' This grows on me daily. *There is nothing here.*" Such was his mood, increasingly, during his stay at Berkeley. Here and there, he may have modified his opinion of Berkeley and Cambridge men and methods, Churchmanship and theology, for as time went on his respect deepened. Nevertheless, in neither institution, to use his own word, did he feel himself "free." He was not to feel "free" until he became warden of the College of Preachers for the last thirteen active years of his life. But one must not forget that he could be conscious of personal limitation while having affectionate regard for the teachers and students with whom he worked, and while exerting a deep and vital religious influence—an influence hardly matched by any of his theological school colleagues.

In the late winter or early spring of 1907, the president of the Alumni Association of the Episcopal Theological

School happened to be visiting Rhinelander. The Cambridge alumni had already begun to raise a fund the income of which would meet the salary of a professor of the history of religion and missions. The two friends discussed the plan. Rhinelander was deeply interested. He not only made suggestions, but he drew up a tentative description of the content and purpose of the new professorship. He little knew that he was arranging his own future, for his friend took the suggestions home with him, shortly afterward talking them over with his friends on the Cambridge faculty. Before many weeks had passed, the Cambridge trustees elected Rhinelander as the first incumbent of the chair. After careful thought, weighing the pros and cons of the life of a teacher, probably contrasting the teaching ministry with that of the parish priest, and possibly knowing that for a few more years, at any rate, he must lead the "cloistered" life, he accepted the call.

Persuasion was strong that he stay at Berkeley. He had won his way into the hearts of faculty and students, and by this time, they, without exception, had won their way into his heart. Their homes were his and his home was theirs. They and he were of one family. Ties of affection were strong and deep, and they were not to weaken with time. Middletown itself, as well as the school, had become a permanent part of his life, for there he began his married life, and there his eldest son was born. Although he may not have found there the fulfillment of his ideals in Churchmanship and theology, nor his conception of the proper training for the ministry, nevertheless, he was grateful for his Berkeley experience and warmly attached to his Berkeley friends.

CHAPTER VI

Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Episcopal Theological School

IN THE AUTUMN of 1907, Rhinelander, his wife, and little boy went to Cambridge, taking the house then and now numbered 26 Garden Street, only a few minutes walk from the Episcopal Theological School—a house which from that day to this is remembered as a center of charming hospitality and of helpful and stimulating social and religious interest. Not only the theological students, but those of Harvard and Radcliffe and the people of Cambridge turned readily to that house, attracted by its well-nigh perfect spirit. Mrs. Rhinelander quickly won her way into the hearts of faculty, faculty-wives, and students, and as quickly into the friendship of Cambridge and Boston people, many of whom were already friends. Few wives have done more than she to make a home not only "a haven of blessing and of peace," but a second home of equal loveliness for all who cared to take advantage of it.

Not long after the Rhinelanders' arrival the house became a kind of Anglo-American center. Rhinelander's English acquaintance was wide. The English ecclesiastics and theologians were more to his taste than the German or the French, or, one might say, than those of the United

States. The Anglicans whom he knew personally or through books were frequently his guests.

Will one ever forget Father Figgis of the Community of the Resurrection, sometime lecturer in history at St. Catherine's College, and Birkbeck lecturer in ecclesiastical history at Trinity College, Cambridge, an authority on political thought? He arrived at the Rhinelanders' still manifesting the baleful effects of the stormy voyage from which he had just landed; incurring the wrath of the rector of the Church of the Advent because he was unable to keep his Sunday morning appointment; during his speedy convalescence making inroads on the Rhinelander ice chest and consuming the children's milk; lecturing learnedly and, oh, so dully! to patient students, and preaching equally learnedly and equally dully to less patient university congregations. A man of remarkable mind and scholarly attainment, an author whose interesting form and content belied his method of lecturing; an ascetic whose vow of poverty allowed of an overcoat of enviable wool given him by a friend; an indefatigable student whose definitive edition of Bossuet went down with him in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, but which, most unfortunately, did not, with him, rise again to the surface.

Or, to mention another of his picturesque as well as rewarding visitors—Father Kelly of Kelham—who will forget him? Tall, thin, far from beautiful; topped with a shovel hat; clad in a long cassock, a careless movement now and then revealing long gray stockings and plus-four trousers, leading one to believe that he was ready for anything in the form of work and play. To be his companion along the streets of Cambridge and Boston was somewhat

embarrassing for anyone opposed to the limelight. But pure gold within—a lecturer of remarkable power; a genius in the theory and practice of theological education. Not long before his arrival in this country he had founded the theological college at Kelham in England, and he had successfully introduced the novel practice of not more than one lecture a day for his men; plenty of time for discussion with their teachers; plenty of time to ruminiate and to meditate. Fortified by such training, his students had more than held their own with men from the universities. Teachers and students of the Episcopal Theological School heard him gladly. He gave them a wholesome pedagogical shock.

A word or two has been said about Rhinelander's preliminary opinion of the personnel of the Cambridge faculty he was about to join. In justice to Rhinelander and his colleagues a word or two might be added.

George Hodges had already been dean for fourteen years, and had won a country-wide reputation as preacher and author, and as teacher of homiletics and pastoral care. Peter Henry Steenstra, professor of the literature and interpretation of the Old Testament was not only a master in his field and a teacher of compelling power, but also a pioneer in modern constructive biblical criticism. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, widely and deeply read in literature, in philosophy and theology, historian and biographer, was an incomparably inspiring teacher. Henry Sylvester Nash, professor of the literature and interpretation of the New Testament, was as much at home in the classic tongues as in modern languages, a man of vivid personal and corporate religion, a writer and preacher of the social gospel, and a man of compelling example as

well as a forceful teacher. These men formed the older group in the faculty. Dr. Steenstra retired in June of the year Rhinelander arrived. Dr. Allen died in the summer of the following year. Dr. Nash was in his early fifties. The younger group were men only a few years older or younger than their new associate. Maximilian Lindsey Kellner, later professor of the literature and interpretation of the Old Testament, was primarily a teacher of the Hebrew language, and an expert in cultures parallel to Hebrew and Jewish history, meticulously accurate rather than inspiring, a great drillmaster, a true friend and lover of the school. The author of this biography, a classmate of Rhinelander's at Harvard and a part time contemporary of his at Oxford, was to succeed Dr. Allen in the autumn of 1908; while Hughell Edgar Woodall Fosbroke, some years later dean of the General Theological Seminary, temporary lecturer in the autumn of 1908, was to come to the Old Testament department in 1909.

With the exception of Dr. Steenstra and Dr. Allen, these men were to be Rhinelander's companions for the better part of his stay in Cambridge. Taken as a whole they represented the Broad Church school of thought, with here and there a leaning toward scholarly conservatism. Without exception, they carried on the school's tradition of loyal contribution to the modern view of Old and New Testaments and of Christian tradition.

During Rhinelander's tenure of office the students averaged about thirty-five in number, and, on the whole, they were as keen and earnest a lot as the school has known. Coming from reputable colleges and universities, they had had good teaching. Their demands were high and reason-

able. They put their teachers on their mettle. Their record of later service in the ministry was good—many of them succeeding to positions of leadership.

An admirable board of lay trustees directed the material fortunes of the School, and Bishop William Lawrence, a former dean and then in the fifteenth year of his episcopate and chairman of the board of visitors, was an unfailing friend and counsellor.

Anyone looking back on those days might wonder how Rhinelander could at once offer courses in so many aspects of his large subject. He had never before the spring of 1907 given more than general thought and reading to comparative religion. And yet there had been careful preparation. He knew that if Christianity were not a missionary religion it was nothing. He knew where it stood in the religious evolutionary process. Furthermore, he had unique capacity for quiet and thorough acquirement of information. And it must not be forgotten that however little he knew he was far ahead of the men he was to teach—one of the comforts which a new teacher in a new subject enjoys.

Dean Hodges had told Rhinelander that for the first year or two he would be given a merciful amount of work, allowing him time for tranquil preparation—"not more than four classroom hours a week." The Dean made good his promise. Rhinelander began with two hours with the juniors and another two hours with the combined middlers and seniors. Even so, and quite characteristic of Rhinelander, the program was fairly heavy—the principles of missions: their motive, rationale and aim; missionary aspects of primitive Christianity; the expansion of the

Church as illustrating missionary theory and practice; the religious history of China: the religions of China in their relation to Christianity and Christian missions, with special reference to the China missions of the Episcopal Church. During the second half-year Rhinelander added another hour on the religious history of India and the missions of the Anglican Communion. He was always a glutton for work. To be on short rations was not to his liking. In the following year he was well under way in problems in comparative religion. When he had begun to sit fairly easily in his new saddle, the number of classroom hours returned again to four. Considering the classroom demands made on the students and the reasonable limits of their powers of assimilation, this was enough. And reflecting on Rhinelander's unreadiness for his new venture and the consequent pressure of preparation, again four hours were enough. It may quite well be that his four hours a week were preferable to the six asked of the average professor teaching a biblical, theological or historical subject. Neither should it be forgotten that no professor of his time gave more freely of himself to the students. Topics discussed in the classroom were carried over into the interval after the hour and into private conversation and brought up again over the teacups at his always hospitable house. It was an immensely rewarding peculiarity of his that in a certain sense he was teaching throughout the waking hours of the day.

This last suggestion leads one to ask what manner of teacher he was.

To begin with apparent results, out of the approximately sixty men whom he taught and with whom he associated more closely than the average professor, seven

went into the foreign field either as teachers or as parochial missionaries, among them men who have since taken leading positions in the affairs of the Church. Furthermore, the school owes to him that firm foundation of interest in sound instruction in missions that has characterized it ever since—a foundation upon which Dr. James Thayer Addison, late Vice President of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, so carefully and thoroughly built. Again, Professor Rhinelander's profoundly intelligent conviction of Christianity's place in the evolution of religion, and his mastery of the manner by which modern Christianity could commend itself to men and women of today, passed not only into the ministry of men going to the antipodes, but quite as effectively into that of those remaining in this country. As never before, and continuously ever since, the graduates of the Episcopal Theological School have been missionary-minded men.

Contrary to expectations, however, the students found their teacher less effective in the classroom than outside of it. His classroom manner was not all that might be hoped of a man of such remarkable extra-classroom influence. His speech at times was hesitant. As he lectured, he frequently seemed introspective—possibly more absorbed in his own contemplation than in the class's comprehension of what he said. In addition to these limitations he filled in an attendance card at each lecture. But, after all, students are a charitable lot. They are somewhat discriminating. They take the man as a whole without being too critical. Whatever limitations there were in the classroom were thrown in with excellent qualities manifested at all points outside the classroom. The result was good—their

instructor's hesitation seemed essential to the expression of profound thought; his attendance-taking an evidence of his interest in his students; his somewhat vaguely expressed ideas the reflections of concepts quite clear to him, and possibly ideas of which the students were to perceive the meaning later in their experience. Rhinelander, whether in pulpit or in classroom, was not always easily understood. Here again, let it be said, with the hope that it may be accepted willingly, that he and his value to a theological school may be appreciated only when one is aware of his manifold talents expressing themselves most clearly in his personal associations with his men. As one of his students wrote to him, when Rhinelander had been called to an important post, "you and Dr. Drown are the men to whom most of us would turn if we needed help." There is ample evidence that such was the students' feeling toward him.

It is surprising how little some records reveal. A secretary of a theological faculty once said that not only definite actions should be recorded, but also, and quite as important, the topics discussed and general opinion expressed on important issues, whether or not any action was taken. In brief, the faculty minutes should contain the history of the school in so far as faculty thought is concerned. The faculty minutes of the Episcopal Theological School, whatever they may be now, were not of this revealing kind during the years 1907-1911—Rhinelander's term of service. They content themselves with action definitely taken, and not with the general opinions of those who governed the policies of the institution. For example, honorary degrees are voted, but none of the interesting give-and-take pre-

liminary to decision. They are a dull record when they might be better reading.

At first very gently and then with gathering momentum Rhinelander took an active part in faculty thought and action. He was put on many committees. His contribution was always original and thorough, especially in those matters which touched the relationship of the school to the university. There was no end to the industry and devotion he gave to the committee work entrusted to him. And in matters of this detailed nature he was an excellent team-player, none better. But when the topic was the devotional life of the individual student and of the school, the quality of the chapel services, and the religious and theological trend of the teaching, his efforts usually ran counter to majority opinion. The polite impatience and the courteous discontent which he had taken no pains to conceal at Berkeley became equally apparent in the faculty meetings.

Rhinelander had come to Cambridge as a *Lux Mundi* Christian, as one who accepted the conservative opinion of religious dogma, and as one who thought it the school's duty to commend this conservatism to reason. It was a thoroughly scholastic attitude (using the word scholastic in its historical and ecclesiastical meaning): assuming that the Church's conclusions are finally correct, and that they are wholly compatible with deep and clear thinking; accept on the Church's authority and then discover how admirably reason will support one's position. Such was the religious and intellectual position of the *Lux Mundi* group —Gore, Talbot, Illingworth, Ottley, and others—most of whom were Rhinelander's personal friends, some of them intimate friends. Fundamentally, such was the religious

and intellectual position of Thomas Aquinas. It would be difficult to name men of deeper and more vivid religion or of keener intellect. Rhinelander was in good company. As he held his opinions strongly; as they were the product of youthful religious education at home and at St. Paul's, Concord; as they were strengthened at Oxford and Washington by stimulating and congenial religious companionship; as they received his increasing intellectual consent—it is no wonder that the Broad Church attitude with which he was surrounded at Cambridge produced growing irritation and discontent. It reached a point where he was manifestly unhappy, where he was in frequent and serious conference with the individual members of the faculty (especially Dr. Drown), and where he thought the school's teaching was "narrow and conceited." The situation was rather distressing, much like that at Berkeley, only somewhat more intense.

His feeling may be gauged by the fresh enthusiasm he showed whenever he had an opportunity (which was practically always on a Sunday and very frequently on a weekday) to take services in parish or mission. As at Berkeley, there is a life in his letters when he tells of his contacts with congregations, in contrast with his comments on school life. In a letter dated St. John's Day, 1908, he writes: "I had a morning service at Quincy . . . because they have no priest there, and hence I was really useful, and felt on parish duty once again. They are a nice lot, most of English descent, and some of the choir boys walked with me to the train loath to have me leave . . . This morning I went 'missionizing' again, this time to Revere, where a lay-reader is in charge of a very promising congregation. It carried

me back with a jump to the early Good Shepherd days. A little store, just an old shop with immensely hearty people of middle class, the place full and nearly a hundred communicants. There was a real religious and sacramental feeling in the atmosphere. There was a real refreshment." No further words are necessary to make it quite clear that the man was temperamentally the parish priest, eager for continuous sacramental contact with his people. In the same letter he again speaks of his discontent with the religious atmosphere of the school and also with its theology. He thought its religious atmosphere thin, its theology superficial. Fundamentally he was an unsatisfied man.

The casual observer, however, would never dream that there was anything amiss. One of his close friends cannot remember a moment of open depression or patent discouragement. He took his part in chapel services effectively; he taught with enthusiasm; he dealt gladly with individual students; he was an acknowledged blessing to the school. There was never an overt suggestion that he had one foot in the school and one foot out of it—that he was merely waiting for a proper opening elsewhere. No member of the faculty showed more singular devotion than he.

One of his colleagues and companions of those days, in writing of Rhinelander's theological and ecclesiastical opinions (the obvious rift between himself and the spirit of the school) has said—"A *Lux Mundi* Churchman exactly describes him, though sometimes I wonder whether he had the quiet confidence of that group that truth would prevail. He seemed nearer the fearfulness of a Newman than the serenity of a Dean Church. I think, though, that his years at the School were very happy ones and that he found

his differences with some of the Faculty very stimulating, not least because they helped him to define his own position more clearly. Even at the College of Preachers where he was so splendidly at home and had so marvellous a gift of making everyone else feel at home he worried pretty constantly about the state of the Church and this anxiety gave additional zest to his own immensely fruitful labors. He had what I should call 'the faithful remnant type of mind' . . . I share to the full your admiration for his nobility and for his extraordinary power with individuals. I owe more than I can say to his moments of deep spiritual insight. He often gave a sense of immediate communication with another world and this invested his whole bearing with a radiant gaiety that made one feel both humble and glad." There is little question that he was happy at the school—in some ways happier than he was to be ever again, except at the College of Preachers. In later years, when he would visit his friends in Cambridge, he would now and then reveal a bit of nostalgia for the good-old-bad-old days.

It is now time to ask how the faculty felt about this new colleague. Now and then they were somewhat disturbed by the intensity of his expressed convictions, wondering whether there might not be a breach in school unity, wondering how long Rhinelander could stand the strain of courteous discontent; occasionally, on the part of some, rather hoping that he might find his freedom elsewhere. But it is well within the truth to say that even those most conscious of the incompatibility of temperament felt that in Rhinelander the school possessed a man of value, that he was of refined and courtly disposition, that he had introduced into the school spirit a deeper respect for tradition,

that his personal devotional life had a fine contagion. One might say that faculty and student feeling of this kind was unanimous and honestly so.

The expression of loyalty to him was fairly frequent, for he had many an opportunity to leave the school for kinds of work that many thought had greater promise of efficiency and contentment. It is almost true to say that from the year he came to Cambridge until the year he left it a "call" was under consideration.

In the summer of 1908, he was offered the deanship of the department of theology in the University of the South at Sewanee. It was an honor to be asked to succeed Dr. DuBose. The department was small, but its quality was good, and its southern support was loyal. But for some reason, unrecorded, Rhinelander declined it. The call was followed in the summer of the next year by election to the vice-chancellorship of the same university, the chancellor being the Bishop of the diocese, Tennessee. The invitation came with power. Bishop Gailor, the ex-officio chancellor wrote: "It is my great happiness to notify you that you were elected last night by unanimous vote of the Executive Committee as Vice-Chancellor of the University of the South . . . the call comes to you from our whole Board of Trustees, including nineteen Bishops of the Church and the elected representatives of nineteen dioceses . . . The representative head of such an Institution has an opportunity of service unsurpassed by that of any man in any position in the Church . . . As a Priest of the Church you will have your own altar and your touch with the religious life of the Church through the Theological Department. As a man who loves high ideals of education you will have

a free hand as head of all the Departments of the University. As an American you will exercise an influence upon the young men of these States second to none."

That was a strong, an appealing letter. What more could be said? It was an offer of freedom and initiative to one who had social convictions, educational convictions, and religious convictions. It was a pledge of enthusiastic support on the part of the Churchmen of the South. Bishop Gailor may have been somewhat overoptimistic in his promise of unlimited freedom, for Rhinelander's experience had shown him clearly what may be the limits of academic freedom, especially if one wants to cultivate a spirit of democracy within the faculty. He knew that any policy of any kind might involve compromise. Already at Berkeley, and again at Cambridge, he had chafed under the compelling demands of compromise. However, his letter of declination, touches neither this nor any other detail. He writes the Bishop simply that it does not seem to be the will of God that he should accept the offer which expresses "such generous, unstinted confidence, that, on the one hand, the position of vice-chancellor of the University of the South implies and involves a work for the successful accomplishment of which I find little guarantee in my training, temperament and physical constitution . . . On the other hand, the work which I have done since my ordination, the experience that has come with it and the deepest interests of my life so far, point to a more narrow and specialized sphere as lying in the normal line of my personal responsibility."

Rhinelander never wrote truer words than those of the last sentence. The "narrow and specialized sphere" had

already been his metier, and his later experience in the episcopate was to confirm his self-analysis. The "narrow" opportunities of the parochial ministry, and the less "narrow," but very "specialized," opportunities of the College of Preachers had revealed him, or were to reveal him, as a man of singular gifts and power.

The call to the deanship at Sewanee brought to full and affectionate expression the feeling of the faculty and students of the Episcopal Theological School. In his earnest, succinct, and semi-whimsical way Dean Hodges wrote: "No doubt you are doing the right thing in going to look at Sewanee. I am fearful, however, of that warm, southern persuasiveness . . . I hope that you will feel perfectly free to follow whatever path seems best for the Church and for yourself. We want you at Cambridge. We feel that the past year has been an auspicious beginning of a course from which we expect great things. You have begun a good work, and it would be a heavy disappointment to us if you should give it up. But we trust you to do the best thing, whichever way you go." Again, after Rhinelander had declined the deanship, "I am greatly rejoiced at your decision. I believe that your opportunity at the School, coupled with the openings for influence in the college, are greater than you would have at Sewanee . . . Let me say again that your presence in the School has been an uninterrupted pleasure and satisfaction to us all, and we look forward to years of the same happiness."

The call to become vice-chancellor brought the following affectionate and thoughtful words from Dr. Drown. Evidently the men had had some fairly serious conversations as to Rhinelander's contentment at the school, and

as to his appreciation of points of view that might differ from his own. "I don't want you to leave Cambridge with a sense of failure or anything of that sort . . . The time has been too short for you to find your way in the teaching of so new and difficult a subject . . . And as to the theological situation I should hate to have you go away with the feeling that that were a serious obstacle to your effective work. Surely in these days unity of action among those who worship one common Lord is of supreme importance . . . Personally it would be a great loss to me to have you go. I trust you know that. You have knit yourself deeply into our hearts. And I should feel that I had lost companionship with a true friend." And, after the decision to remain in Cambridge, "I feel as you do, that in any case you needed more time with us in Cambridge. It would not have been fair either to yourself or to us to have left the Cambridge experiment (that's not a very good word!) without a more thorough trial. And so I can rejoice that I am not to be deprived of the company of a good friend."

Professor Fosbroke, who had in the previous academic year given a course of lectures at the Episcopal Theological School, and who was about to enter into residence as a full professor, ventured to urge Rhinelander to remain in Cambridge: "I must give utterance to my present hope that you will stay at Cambridge. It was only a day or two ago that one of the men spoke earnestly of the place you were making for yourself there and the work you were doing." And in another letter, "My present feeling is that, concerned with the larger problems of university administration you would find neither time nor strength for the (expression) of what I feel to be your distinctive gift, the

ability to deal pastorally with the thinking part of young men. It would, I think, be a misfortune if you should be unable to turn to account your quick eager interest in the *intimate* and *personal* side of religious life. For this there may be opportunity in the new work, but there are limits to every man's strength and the kind of generous and understanding sympathy you are able to give to those who need it is in itself a tremendous tax."

Outside the school there was plenty of counsel. Bishops Greer of New York, Lawrence of Massachusetts, and Hall of Vermont were confident that he should not go. His close friends, Professors Kinsman and Hayes of the General Theological Seminary, and John Mitchell Page were equally confident that he should. These men, on both sides of the question, knew him well. And one of the Harvard undergraduates, most active in the religious life of the university, wrote to Rhinelander, almost in despair, recalling the days before Rhinelander came to Cambridge when there was no directing hand in the St. Paul's Society and comparing them with the helpful and orderly religious life of the present: "I don't know what we should do without you—that is not flattery. Sewanee will not know the loss if you don't go there, but we will if you do. Is there anything more to say?"

While the Sewanee negotiations were going on, the Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, rector of Trinity Church, New York, found himself in an embarrassing situation. A graduate and warm supporter of the University of the South, he was also the rector of the largest parish in the city with its important chapels. While he had been rector for only a year, he had been for some years vicar of St. Agnes

Chapel and he knew the parish well. He was intent on gathering together as his staff clergy of character and ability. He wanted Rhinelander. His letters are loyal to Sewanee, for they contain no word of persuasion or dissuasion. But he does not hesitate to compare Cambridge with New York, to the advantage of the latter: "The call to the Cambridge work seems to me to lack the note of *certainty*—and to lack it now just as much as it did a year ago. The need of you in this other work, not merely in Trinity Chapel, important as that is, but in all that we want to make Trinity Parish stand for is *absolutely clear*. Even if all did seem quite clear at Cambridge as to your part in the work there, I now believe firmly that, with your gifts and training and preparation—the experience at Cambridge being part of it—and an important part—you can be of far greater and more far reaching service to the Church in Trinity Parish, as things now stand there, than where you are."

Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, at that time Rhinelander's bishop, wrote more cautiously. Evidently he was watching Rhinelander. He already knew that he was of value at the school and of rapidly increasing value to the university and the diocese: "My impressions are as follows —That you have grown more fully into your work at the School and are making a strong and helpful position for yourself and that one or two more years would give you assurance as to whether that is really your life work. On the other hand—I am not thoroughly confident (I do not know enough of the situation) that you will find Cambridge the place for your best life work: and the opportunity for *you* at Trinity Chapel strikes me as rather

unique. More so than at St. Agnes' [Rhinelander had evidently also been called to St. Agnes' at an earlier time], although I speak on this with hesitation. But the better tradition at Trinity Chapel and its opportunities seem to me to fall into harmony with your temperament and abilities . . . I should say that if during the past year you have strengthened in the feeling that your life work will be in Cambridge you might wisely drop thought of Trinity Chapel. But if you still have questions on that point and especially if you are not quite so confident of your future at Cambridge as you were a year ago, you might wisely give it consideration."

Theodore R. Ludlow, at present Suffragan Bishop of Newark, at that time a student in the school, and shortly after his ordination a missionary in China, expressed not only his own feeling, but that of practically all of the undergraduates, while Rhinelander was considering the second call to Sewanee. And it must not be forgotten, while reading what Ludlow had to say, that he and others were quite of one mind that Rhinelander was not, from a technical point of view, a successful teacher, that in the classroom he was hardly systematic or inspiring. It has been told that the late John Maynard Keynes was rather dull in the lecture room, while at the same time he was an unusually stimulating friend and tutor, giving himself freely to the undergraduates of his college. That statement is not far from a description of Rhinelander during his Cambridge days. Ludlow wrote: "True to my promise, I am going to write you just the way I feel about your going to Sewanee. It is utterly presumptuous of me to attempt to influence you one way or the other, and yet as one who loves you

both as a master and as a friend I do not hesitate to speak for my convictions, as they have been the subject of much thought and prayerful consideration. Unless you were a Southerner, it would be impossible for you to understand how we Southerners feel toward the South . . . Although I feel almost traitorous in saying so, still I feel that this sectional pride has hitherto colored and prejudiced my arguments in favor of your going to Sewanee." After saying that the whole Church should be kept in mind rather than any section, Ludlow, with pardonable pride in his school, goes on to emphasize the need of leaders in the Church and the function of the school in supplying them. "As leaders mould the thought of the Church, so necessarily must the training-ground of those leaders present the deepest and truest *spiritual* equipment that the Church can produce. How is the Cambridge School fitted to meet the requirements? In scholarship it unquestionably stands first and justly boasts of its preeminence. But in that very intellectual supremacy lies the danger that it may lose sight of its real mission—to build leaders. Mere intellect never made a leader, certainly not in religious matters. You, with your keen spirituality have met that need richly and adequately. You may say that I am here taking only a personal view of the matter, but believe me, I am not. I shall even carry my presumption further and speak for my class since they have been good enough to make me their spokesman on various occasions. I know I speak for a majority of the class when I say that if any of us were in a spiritual difficulty there are two people that we would go to—Dr. Nash and yourself. You have been criticized. Yes, but you are also loved and the criticism is solely of external things

that can be corrected, and are already correcting themselves with time and experience. Your present service is, to my mind, the highest mission you can perform for the Church we all love. The Church needs you there; we need you there."

Another and highly important note was struck by Robert H. Gardiner. Gardiner was some fifteen or twenty years older than Rhinelander, a stronge Churchman, a layman of leadership in the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, a pioneer with Bishop Brent in the ecumenical movement for Church Unity, full of devotion and common sense, and, withal, a high-minded and successful banker with offices in Boston. He had watched Rhinelander since he had come to Cambridge. He was familiar with his work at the school; he was more familiar with his work among Harvard students —a vital matter to him, for during those years his sons were passing through Harvard. His opinion was excellent. He wrote: "Dear Phil: I am greatly relieved that you have declined Sewanee. I wanted to urge you to, but I did not know enough about it to be entitled to an opinion. I know how great an opportunity you have at Cambridge and I hope you will stay there a long time. My boy will leave Groton next year for Harvard and I hope he will help you get hold of the young immigrants to the Gold Coast [the more luxurious dormitories] . . . I go up to Boston Tuesday afternoon . . . It would be a delight to give you a dinner and a bed if you want to come up before your family."

It will be seen from some of the foregoing quotations that Rhinelander's influence was spreading out beyond the walls of the school and was beginning to have its effect on some of the Harvard men. In fact, almost from the day he

reached Cambridge in 1907, that beneficent and invigorating association began. When Gardiner wrote his letter in the summer of 1909, he had observed Rhinelander's interest in the Harvard men, and his active concern in their moral and religious welfare for a period of nearly two years. They had been in frequent touch with each other over these vital problems.

As time went on Rhinelander's Harvard acquaintance was widening and deepening. The Rev. Professor Edward Caldwell Moore of the Harvard Divinity School, minister of the University Chapel and chairman of the Phillips Brooks House Association, was eager to draw Rhinelander into closer touch with his departments. In consequence, Rhinelander directed one of the classes in religious study. In this he taught an altogether interdenominational group. On the other hand, the St. Paul's Society was an organization of Episcopalians attempting to gather the members of their Church for stated services and occasionally to hear some Christian leader of prominence. Naturally, under the circumstances, their leadership was somewhat casual. Not long after Rhinelander came to Cambridge, those most interested in the society discovered in him a man singularly equipped for that type of effort and eager to do what he could. As one of the letters quoted in another connection has clearly shown, Rhinelander quickly became an indispensable factor in the constructive work the society was trying to do. The casual leadership gave way to wise, orderly, and devoted service. The points of contact offered through the Phillips Brooks House and the St. Paul's Society were at once a consequence of Rhinelander's alert and serious personal interest in the men of Harvard, and

the preliminary to that deeper and more personal contact with them which was well under way on Sunday evenings in his own living room.

In appraising Rhinelander's contentment and value during the years 1907-1911, one may not forget those Sunday evenings at 26 Garden Street, where Harvard men and a few theological students gathered with enthusiasm from week to week. As one of those students, one who knew him later, but never at his best in the College of Preachers, has said, "I never thought him great in other ways but in the conduct of those Sunday evening meetings he was truly great."

Another student of that time has written: "The Bishop used to sit in a straight-backed oak chair (stained black) with [its] arms ending in a curving ball, over which each of his hands would fit. There was a red plush cushion in the seat of this chair. He sat there, talked—or asked questions—looked very shyly at us, if at all, but quite frequently looked at the ceiling as if in a reverie. His face was beautifully proportioned, very sensitive, but very strong. His lips were very expressive when he formed words. Nothing in his manner was exaggerated or tense, though we felt great spiritual power—it was apparently of boundless strength to be called on at will." Before giving this description Professor James Munn's letter says: "Bishop Rhinelander's interest in Harvard students was boundless. He was interested in young men and in their problems, not so much for the purpose of directing them, but as if he were inquiring into their ideas of religion, because those ideas might be a very precious experience to understand. He impressed me as being a mystic, by which I then meant

one who saw more deeply into life and its purpose than was possible for those of us who were average-day workers. He was extremely practical, too, but I do not remember his saying to us 'You ought to take a boys' club; it would do you good!' Rather he seemed to be inquiring of us what made a certain situation develop; what composed it; what was its value? I forget whether every Sunday evening was 'open house' for him; but I remember that we went there rather often and knew on each occasion why we were going and for what specific purpose."

The Rev. Dr. J. T. Addison, has written the following: "I was one of a group who often visited Rhinelander on Sunday evenings during my Senior year at Harvard in 1908-1909. What most impressed me at that time and what I have longest remembered was his radiant charm. On that, to a considerable degree, depended his effectiveness in these meetings, though his unaffected piety and his strong personal interest in each student were other indispensable factors. He had the happy faculty of combining talking and listening in right proportions, and he generally succeeded in drawing out most of those present. I recall particularly the feeling I always had that he was ready to welcome and consider any kind of opinion or comment, that no views were debarred and each was free to speak his mind. I believe that two factors helped to make these gatherings more valuable than most 'discussion groups.' One was Rhinelander's own contagious warmth of conviction. Another was his custom of always ending the meeting with prayer—chiefly his own extempore prayer."

The descriptions by Professor Munn and Dr. Addison are typical not only of what others have written after these

many intervening years, but also of what many of his friends and contemporaries, who occasionally dropped in, can easily remember. From time to time, he would ask one of us to take his place. The opportunity made it quite clear that we were attempting the impossible. It might have been better if he had cancelled the meetings at which he could not himself be present. One does not hesitate to say that those Sunday evenings were the high point in his ministry thus far. Their character and quality form a chapter in Harvard religious history, in so far as Episcopilians are concerned, hardly matched before his day, and refreshed at present by the friendly and helpful ministry of the chaplain of the Bishop Rhinelander Foundation for College Work.

The Rhinelander Foundation

"Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."

Thirty years later, some time before Rhinelander's death, the Rev. C. Leslie Glenn, then rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, and the Rev. Frederick B. Kellogg, the assistant for student work, sought his counsel in regard to reorganizing religious work among Harvard and Radcliffe students. Finding it good, they proceeded on that basis and subsequently named their organization after him: The Bishop Rhinelander Foundation for College Work.

Following Bishop Rhinelander's death, Mrs. Rhinelander, who had been intimately associated with the student meetings which had taken place in their Cambridge house, and who was familiar with the quality of the student work centered at Christ Church, gave twenty-five thousand dol-

lars to start an endowment fund. Since then other gifts have been made, bringing the total to about fifty thousand dollars. The salaries and current expenses of the foundation are met by the income from these sources, by an annual subsidy from the Diocese of Massachusetts, by annual contributions from Harvard and Radcliffe graduates interested in the religious welfare of their younger fellow Churchmen, and by gifts from the students themselves, this last item amounting to about twenty-five hundred dollars a year.

Although the Rhinelander Foundation is altogether independent of Christ Church, it is right that it should be closely connected with it. The church stands on Garden Street, fronting on the Old Cambridge Common, only a few steps from the Harvard Yard. Furthermore, it has a history of religious association with Harvard students. The rector of King's Chapel in Boston wrote in 1759 to the Archbishop of Canterbury as follows: "The college, my Lord, is placed in that town. It is the only seminary of learning for this province. It will undoubtedly be of great service to erect a church there, agreeable to the desire of many of the inhabitants, and to entrust the conduct of it with a gentleman who by his doctrine and good example may give a right turn to the youth who are educated there." It is also right that Philip Rhinelander's name should again be brought in contact with it, for, while he was a young parish priest in Washington, he had the opportunity to become one of the Christ Church staff of ministers.

The ex-officio members of the board of trustees are the Presiding Bishop, the Bishop of Massachusetts, a representative of the Church Society for College Work, the rector

of Christ Church, and two members of the vestry of Christ Church appointed by the rector. The other nine trustees are elected for three-year terms and are usually members of the Harvard faculty. The dean of the Episcopal Theological School has been traditionally the president of the board. The chaplain and director is the Rev. Frederic Brainerd Kellogg, a graduate of Groton School, Princeton University, the Episcopal Theological School, and M. A. of Cambridge University, England. Associated with him are several part-time assistants and a council of about twenty students.

The activities of the foundation under the direction of the chaplain and his staff are manifold. Every Sunday morning in term-time, at nine o'clock, there is a service of Holy Communion with an address by the chaplain, and a similar service without address on Wednesday mornings at eight o'clock. At the former, students are servers, choir, and ushers. Immediately afterward comes a breakfast, with an average attendance of sixty or seventy, followed by a discussion of thoughts suggested by the chaplain's address. On Sunday evenings, Chaplain and Mrs. Kellogg are hosts to the Canterbury Club, the Harvard-Radcliffe Episcopal student society. After light refreshments and a short, informal service conducted by the students (women as well as men), a competent authority speaks on some subject of moral or religious timeliness and importance, welcoming and receiving frank and full discussion.

The weekly calendar is full. In addition to the services and the Canterbury Club: Tuesday afternoons, open house; Wednesday evenings, study groups; Thursday evenings, confirmation instruction; once a month, faculty members'

meeting to discuss religious and related problems. Along with these stated appointments, the chaplain assists in two settlement house projects, calls regularly on students in the Stillman Infirmary, takes his part in interdenominational student work, and takes his turn as chairman of the United Ministry to Students.

At the heart of the foundation's purpose lies a friendly, informal, and honest association with approximately twenty-five hundred students. At the opening of the academic year the chaplain and his assistants are given the names of new students who have shown a preference for the Episcopal Church. Personal contact is made with them as soon as possible—and that is very soon. As a consequence of this friendly beginning, the chaplain reckons that he and his staff are seeing, in one way or another, ten to twelve thousand students yearly, and that over the years Chaplain and Mrs. Kellogg have welcomed to their house, for breakfasts, teas, and suppers, about fifty thousand young men and women.

Possibly the best test of the value of the neighborly calls on the students in their rooms, of the services in Christ Church, of the Sunday evening and other means of association, formal and informal, is found in the number of students who come to the chaplain with all kinds of problems—moral and religious problems and questions that merely call for conversation with a mature and congenial friend. Much of the chaplain's time is given to this aspect of his work. Among other consequences of these friendly meetings are the decisions of many men to enter the ministry, (already about seventy men have entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church or are being prepared for it),

although quite as important is the emphasis laid on Christian service, whatever one's vocation may prove to be.

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Returning now to the Episcopal Theological School, the years slipped by. One by one, calls to leave Cambridge were declined by Rhinelander. Practically every Sunday and on many a weekday he officiated in the neighboring churches. Occasionally he gave a series of lectures, especially at summer schools. The Diocese of Massachusetts, in its various departments, brought him into consultation on matters of importance. Few within the diocese were more welcome, more effective, or more beloved, as he worked within the school, or as he went about doing good. It looked as if his increasing influence and his widening contacts among the theological schools of the country, among the parishes, at Harvard and Radcliffe, might make him, not only content, but glad to spend his life in Cambridge. But those who hoped most strongly that he would stay were aware that the calls he had received were only harbingers of others to come. They also knew that, however attractive and satisfying the increasingly interesting daily program might be, there was, deep down in his soul, a longing to express his ministry more fully and more freely. His confidence in his conception of the Church's character and of the implications of his own priesthood was so clear and impelling that one could not but fear that his days in Cambridge were nearly numbered. The moment came when, in the spring of 1911, he was elected Bishop Co-adjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. This could hardly be the "specialized and narrow sphere" toward which he was looking!

CHAPTER VII

The Pennsylvania Episcopate

RHINELANDER'S STAY in Cambridge was certain to be short, for calls were coming to him from every direction. St. Stephen's Church, Boston, had made repeated efforts to get him. Some of his wisest advisors were urging him to become vicar of Trinity Chapel in New York. The University of the South had asked him to accept the deanship of the Theological School, and, only a short time later, had offered him the vice-chancellorship. Doubtless, there were other equally urgent and attractive invitations of which we know nothing, but which, along with those of which we have heard, bear witness to his widening and deepening influence, and to the respect and reverence in which he was held. He was rapidly becoming one of the recognized leaders of the Church.

Whatever impression these marks of recognition were making on Rhinelander one hardly knows. He talked little about them. It was, however, quite clear that the Episcopal Theological School was in a chronic state of uncertainty as to whether he would stay or go. It was beginning to realize that it could not hold him permanently. It was brought to the point of giving him up, when, in the spring

of 1911, he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Fairly early in the spring, letters had come from Philadelphia to Cambridge asking frank questions about him as a possible bishop, and calling for a comparison between him and other well-known clergy. The answers were favorable to Rhinelander. He was elected on the second ballot by the diocesan convention of May 10, 1911. It was evident that he was wanted by the diocese as a whole. The same convention elected Thomas James Garland, the competent secretary of the diocese, Suffragan Bishop. It had been suggested that the Low Church Garland might be a check on the strong, if not High Church, Rhinelander. If this be so, all one can say is that Pennsylvania did not know the man whom they had chosen as Bishop Coadjutor.

The election had no sooner taken place than pressure was brought to bear on Rhinelander from all quarters, on the one hand urging him to stay, on the other persuading him to go. If he had ever had any doubts about his value to Cambridge, to Harvard, and to the Episcopal Theological School, the doubts were relieved and banished by the widespread expression of thanks for what he had done, and, more than that, for what he had been, during the four short years of his stay. Many men and women whose lives he had deeply touched wrote almost praying him to drop all thought of going, so that he might assist them further. Harvard men who were to be found regularly at the Sunday evening gatherings and discussions at his house told him frankly of the lift he had given them and, with good reason, doubted whether there was anyone to take his place. The faculty and students of the Theological School,

individually and collectively, gave him ample assurance that he was essential to the school's corporate life; that he had given it an ardent, well-tutored, and active interest in missions; and, more fundamental and enduring still, that he had, through the reality of his own spiritual life, enriched the religion of his colleagues and friends. To look through the letters written to him, and about him, at this critical turning point of his ministry easily convinces one that his few years in Cambridge had revealed unique and remarkable qualities of heart and mind.

On the other hand, many from Pennsylvania and throughout the Church brought heavy counter pressure to bear on him. He knew better than to take seriously the letters of those who said that a theological school was a cloistered affair, offering only a limited opportunity for carrying out one's Christian ideals. But he quite agreed that a diocesan bishop had a larger and more direct opportunity than that open to a single member of a school faculty to plan and bring to fulfillment an institutional and personal type of Christianity of a rich and useful order. Direct access to the lives of about three hundred clergy; direct approach to the hearts of some thousands of young people at the impressionable time of confirmation; direct association with laymen and laywomen who were in a position to give character to the religious work and thought of the diocese—these together more than matched any opportunity he had had theretofore. Furthermore, he would have a seat in the House of Bishops, and he would be a delegate to the Lambeth Conference, the former giving him a voice in the decisions of issues relative to the Protestant Episcopal Church, the latter offering him a re-

sponsibility in solving the problems vital within the Anglican Communion.

After some weeks of thought, he accepted the election and made ready to go. In addition to his formal letter of acceptance, Rhinelander wrote to the diocesan, Bishop Mackay-Smith: "I am sending my formal acceptance by this same mail to Dr. Perry, as chairman of the Notification Committee. The conviction has steadily deepened that my election is a call from God which I cannot faithfully refuse. By His grace I will give the Diocese the best I have. Relying on your prayers, Believe me, Faithfully yours, Philip M. Rhinelander." Only those who knew Rhinelander can fully appreciate the vividness of his conviction that the Holy Spirit had called him to this task, and his unselfish determination to give every atom of his strength to its fulfillment.

Mrs. Rhinelander, like the incomparable wife she had always been, had her doubts as to the wisdom of his decision. She, more than anyone, knew his temperament and his physical limitations. She was well aware that he could carry a heavy load of work and thought, for she alone was familiar with his daily routine. She also remembered that his severe heart attack dated back only eight years, and that for some years afterward he had had to conserve his energy. She knew that he was in regular touch with a heart specialist. Mrs. Rhinelander was too wise not to realize that congenial and absorbing occupation may have its therapeutic value, and that of all physical hazards, partial, total, or uninteresting inactivity is the most dangerous. Nevertheless, it was with intelligent reluctance that she fell in with his well-considered wishes.

The episcopal situation in the Diocese of Pennsylvania demanded an election of a bishop—of two bishops, in fact. Bishop Whitaker, who had done conspicuous and valuable service in bringing the clergy and laity of the diocese into a working unit, had died earlier in the year of Rhinelander's election. Bishop Mackay-Smith, Bishop Coadjutor for nine years and Bishop for a few months only, was not in good health, and was asking permission to retire whenever the new bishops might find themselves fairly familiar with their new duties. Bishop Mackay-Smith had made a rather conspicuous record for himself in the ministry, particularly at St. John's, Washington. As Coadjutor he had proved himself friendly and effective. He liked people, and he and his wife were generous entertainers. He lived with sumptuousness, tempered with simplicity. Like Bishop Whitaker, he did his part toward preserving a fine unity in the diocese.

One of the fortunate consequences of this leadership, running over nearly twenty-five years, was a remarkable number of alert and useful laymen and laywomen. Among all the dioceses of the country Pennsylvania was conspicuous in this respect. In the General Convention, Pennsylvania's representatives acquitted themselves well, and in the Woman's Auxiliary and other Church organizations Pennsylvania women were among the leaders.

Another consequence of these twenty-five years of Christian effort was an admirably organized diocese. The bishops, the clergy, and many laity had their part in the achievement, but, in more recent years, the secretary of the diocese, the Rev. Thomas James Garland, had played a leading rôle. He had brought into the service of the Church

his many years of business experience. He was orderly and efficient. Furthermore, he had dispatched his duties with such practical imagination and such executive ability that he was the obvious choice for Suffragan. Whoever might be Bishop Mackay-Smith's successor, he might think himself fortunate to work along with one so familiar with every nook and cranny of the diocese and with all its material and spiritual conditions. The new bishop might safely leave to his assistant a wide area of responsibility.

As already noted, Rhinelander had taught for four years in one theological school and for four years in another. He was thoroughly familiar with their condition, their methods, and their achievement. Although neither Berkeley nor the Episcopal Theological School had met his ideals in teaching, or in their apprehension of the full meaning of the Christian faith, he had deep respect for their teachers and for the contribution they were making to American Christian life and thought. In Pennsylvania he was to be chairman of the governing board of another school. Although the spirit of the Philadelphia school was similar to that of the schools at Middletown and Cambridge—a spirit of which he did not altogether approve—he had reason to believe that through the school he might achieve some of his ideals of training for the ministry. In other words, the promise of co-operation with the faculty of the school, along with the other resources of a great diocese, would seem to give him a well-nigh matchless opportunity.

It should be remembered that theological schools are of two kinds—those that are essentially the bishop's schools, and those altogether independent of the bishop, and even of the diocese. The Philadelphia school was one of the lat-

ter, the episcopal authority being merely advisory. Of course, even in those schools not under episcopal jurisdiction, there is always the obligation of courtesy between school and bishop; it is one of the school's pleasant privileges to keep the bishop in intimate touch with its condition and purpose.

It is quite possible that the Philadelphia Divinity School was at its best in Bishop Rhinelander's day. Dean Groton in the earlier years, Dean Bartlett for the longer period—each an excellent administrator and teacher, and both supported by an excellent faculty—represented scholarship and character. And these men were sending a fine type of men into the ministry. The deans and their colleagues naturally set the tone of the school which, although loyal to the Book of Common Prayer, was distinctly liberal, whatever that much abused word may mean.

Such were some of the conditions among which Rhinelander was to do his work. He examined the situation thoroughly. He modestly thought that with such equipment he might make his contribution. Physically, he was willing to run some risks. Religiously and theologically also, he knew that there was a hazard. But friends he had in good number, and hopes ran high.

Plans for the consecration occupied much of the summer. The Memorial Church of the Advocate was chosen for the ceremony, and its rector, the Rev. Henry Martyn Medary was appointed master of ceremonies. The Merrymount Press of Boston, under the competent guiding hand of Berkeley Updyke, printed the Order of Service—a faultless piece of printing. Few consecrations have been

prepared more carefully or carried through with greater dignity.

The Presiding Bishop, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, closely resembling Michelangelo's Moses, with his flowing beard, was the consecrator; the co-consecrators, Bishop Mackay-Smith of Pennsylvania and Bishop Whitehead of Pittsburgh; the attending presbyters, Dean Grosvenor of the Cathedral in New York and Dr. William T. Manning, of Trinity Church, New York; the presenting bishops, Lawrence of Massachusetts and Kinsman of Delaware; the preacher, Bishop Brewster of Connecticut. The consecrator was, of course, present in his own right. The others, however, were there because of their position or personal relationship to Rhinelander; each stood for something definite and significant. Bishops Mackay-Smith and Whitehead represented eastern and western Pennsylvania; Bishop Lawrence had been a friend for many years and for some years his bishop; Bishop Kinsman, a close personal friend and counsellor; Dean Grosvenor and Dr. Manning had been intimate friends for years. The preacher was, naturally, the choice of the Coadjutor and the Suffragan, although Bishop Brewster had been Dr. Rhinelander's bishop in the Connecticut days. They were an inclusive choice, a broad-minded and significant array, gathering up in themselves associations with past and present. If Bishop Satterlee had been living, he would have held high position in the consecration service, for he had been Rhinelander's boyhood and young-manhood rector and his bishop during his early ministry in Washington.

At a reception that followed the consecration, the bishops were welcomed by representatives of Church and State

and by hosts of friends and well-wishers. Bishop Mackay-Smith was in his happiest frame of mind. He told the assembled company that his memory was drawn irresistibly back to a date when, as he was coming out of his father's house in Newport, he saw a neighboring door open and a nurse come out carrying a "fair bundle from which at my request she stripped the veil, and disclosed the features of the future Prince Bishop of Pennsylvania." At the conclusion of the warmhearted reception, and glowing with the warmth of the welcome, Bishop Rhinelander and his family returned to their temporary home—the house they were to occupy until the death of Bishop Mackay-Smith opened to them the well-appointed, large, convenient, but somewhat elaborate, Bishop's House—a house the palatial character of which bothered their consciences. They were to move into it all too quickly, for the friendly Bishop died within a few weeks of the double consecration.

Bishop Rhinelander's habits always had been orderly. Many years ago as a parish priest, he had laid out a careful program for the day's work, and quite as important, he had, after the day was over, recorded his doings. From the beginning he had arranged and preserved files of letters and documents. He was to continue to do so, even to the point of saving papers of purely transitory value, or of no value at all. (Apparently he was erring on the safe side.) Almost invariably he had listed his services with special care, including the texts and subjects of his sermons. Among his papers are typewritten volumes covering every year of his episcopate, each volume going into the most meticulous detail, even to the point of naming those with whom he had afternoon tea, the names of others who for

purely social reasons had passed the night at his house, and his conversation with his chauffeur in regard to car repairs. If one wants to know, for example, what he did on March 20, 1916, there it is, every item of it, recorded in the typewritten diary. According to canon law, every bishop must set down on paper his official acts and open them to public inspection. But such diary devotion as this is unusual. Throughout his life thus far—at school, at college and university, in parish work, and in theological schools—he had been orderly and systematic; the momentum of habit carried him on.

If this quality of mind and conduct had any failing, it was in the unwillingness or inability to throw anything away. There are some things for which history and biography have no use, and for which even a domestic record makes no demand. Throughout his life—before, during, and after the episcopate—he read his letters, replied at once, and then tucked them away, probably not asking himself whether, within them, there was anything worth preserving. It is of value to read a letter in which he takes a senator to task. But what could he or anyone else discover of permanent worth in an invitation to preach a Lenten sermon in 1907? This system, however, was a great saver of thought and time, even though, like the rest of us, he was looking toward the day when he could with leisure destroy the destroyable.

The routine in this and in other ways carried itself. The breakfast hour was fixed. Afterward came family prayers in the private chapel (at which even his six-year-old son sometimes read the New Testament lesson). Then he went to his office. One of his secretaries writes: "The Bishop

was a most methodical person. Immediately after chapel services, which he held each morning in the little sanctuary in the Bishop's House, the duties of the day began. His mail was attended to, and within an hour or so the necessary replies were dictated, as were also his personal and official diaries. If he was interrupted during dictation he would at the end of the interruption easily take up the sentence where he left off. The rest of the day was devoted to interviews and appointments, some of the latter taking him to far distances in his Diocese." Business luncheons were frequent, at some of which he presided, but at all of which his counsel was expected. These meetings often went well on into the afternoon. On other occasions he would either go home for luncheon and rest for a while afterward, or ask some friend, with whom he had mutual interests, to meet him at his club for a quiet talk. Those luncheons, professional or social, were the source of much of his personal and religious influence.

Unless some engagement prevented he would have tea either at home or on the way home, almost invariably with some acquaintance or friend with whom he had an immediate or constant religious interest. His diaries often speak of those who would dine and spend the evening with him. Again, almost invariably, they were there with a religious purpose, and their talks would on many occasions continue well into the night. In other words, the daily program was a long one, an interesting one, and a friendly one. And there was a contagious and an enthusiastic character associated with every aspect of it.

When the Bishop found time for reading, one cannot discover. That he was a wide reader there can be no ques-

tion, for one could be with him hardly a moment without opportunity to discuss a recent or a permanently important volume before he would ask, "Have you read this?" or "Have you read that?" How his conversation would sparkle at tea, or at mealtime, with quotations and references to books of an amusing nature! One's feeling is that he read much between definite appointments, for there was always a book on his desk, and also that he was a late-night reader. Few bishops were more conversant than he with current professional theology, especially Anglican, and he remembered the contents of the books he read.

Bishop Rhinelander was hardly well under way in his episcopate when he was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Episcopal Theological School and the Berkeley Divinity School; Doctor of Sacred Theology by Columbia University; Doctor of Canon Law by the Philadelphia Divinity School, and Doctor of Laws by the University of Pennsylvania.

As Bishop Mackay-Smith had died almost immediately after the consecrations of Bishops Rhinelander and Garland, the leading episcopal duties quickly fell into the hands of the new bishops. The diocese was the second largest in the Episcopal Church, only that of New York being larger. The bishops had to visit about two hundred parishes and missions. And although the geographical conditions were simpler than those of either New York or Massachusetts, the third in size (for the diocese of Pennsylvania covered hardly more than the City of Philadelphia and the four adjacent counties), still the Episcopal Church population was congested and unusually active. As there were virtually only forty Sundays open for visitations,

and as each parish and the larger missions expected a visitation once a year, the bishops' task was evident. Many a weekday was needed to meet the demand.

Unless one is wrongly informed, the Bishop and the Suffragan would alternate in their visitations—a custom wisely followed in other dioceses, giving the clergy and people an opportunity to know both bishops and, vice versa, the bishops an opportunity to know the parishes and missions.

At the time of Rhinelander's election, Bishop Mackay-Smith had written to him: "To my great delight, the Rev. Thomas J. Garland, our former invaluable secretary, was yesterday elected the new Bishop Suffragan of the Diocese. This is indeed a happy result for both you and me, for he has probably been the greatest secretary, as well as the most satisfactory man, that Pennsylvania has ever known. There have been many good secretaries, but only one Garland, and I do not doubt that in the space of a year you will recognize the correctness of the prophecy which I now so confidently make." But as it turned out, Bishop Rhinelander and the Suffragan were hardly a well matched pair. At the time of their consecrations they were not far from the same age. Both were mentally vigorous and self-contained. Each had fairly definite ideas of the welfare of the diocese and of the Church, and each was ready to support his own opinion—occasionally without much compromise. Bishop Rhinelander was a strong and very conservative Churchman—an attitude not general in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Bishop Garland represented views quite widely held in the diocese among clergy and laity. When Bishop Rhinelander came to Pennsylvania, of course

he knew nothing of the internal condition and temper of the parishes. Bishop Garland, having been secretary of the diocese for some years, knew the situation as few could know it. Added to this, each was pardonably careful of his own position, duties, and rights—two honest men of alien temperaments and abilities harnessed together for better or for worse!

A wiser convention might have selected more congenial teammates. There was bound to be radical and honest disagreement, and so there was. However conscientiously each might strive to work willingly and effectively with the other, a sympathetic co-operation was impossible. If chance had not brought these admirable, devoted, and able men together they might never have met—certainly they would not have become friends, enjoying informal companionship and happy in planning diocesan progress. Without doubt they worked together willingly and enthusiastically for common ends, but there was lacking that mutual confidence which makes for better results.

Furthermore, this fundamental difference in temperament and in religious and ecclesiastical point of view prophesied a disturbance of that unity of the diocese so admirably achieved by Bishop Whitaker. Clergy and people were in danger of taking sides and of allowing minor issues to become major interests. Such, unfortunately, was the case from time to time. Whether under a more wisely selected leadership the results might have been different, it is impossible to say. But such are some of the dangers arising from the relationship of Bishop and Suffragan, or of Bishop and Coadjutor for that matter.

It may be that only an episcopal companion of similar

religious and ecclesiastical views would have worked well with Bishop Rhinelander, for his opinions were deeply founded and strongly held. Many years before he had been elected bishop he had shown himself to be a devoted adherent of the *Lux Mundi* school of religious thought and practice. As has already been said, the High Church Oxford leaders of his own day—Bright, the Oxford Church historian; Talbot, Bishop of Winchester; Gore, later Bishop of Oxford; and Moberly, an authority on the Ministerial Priesthood, (all the immediate heirs of Newman, Pusey, and Froude)—were the men over whose writings he brooded and whose opinions he warmly held. Without being over-ritualistic or given to ceremonial they were High Anglicans. Toward these English leaders he looked. And their sympathizers on this side of the Atlantic were those with whom he conferred, and with whom his relations were most congenial: Bishop Hall of Vermont, Bishop Kinsman of Delaware (before he went to Rome), Dr. Manning, later Bishop of New York. They were kindred spirits religiously, theologically, and ecclesiastically; to them he turned most frequently. It was inevitable that the Diocese of Pennsylvania should gradually feel the effect of these companionships and that agreement and disagreement should arise.

Furthermore, Bishop Rhinelander's conception of his episcopal position was more English than American. It was more authoritarian than democratic. While the typical American bishop would welcome parochial freedom in the choice of the clergy, whatever their views, and would be the sympathetic friend and brother to those of opinions alien to his own, a bishop of the closer Anglican tradition might feel that the parish should be more or less

directed in its choice, and that his own conviction should have some persuasive weight. Bishop Rhinelander, although not only tolerating, but welcoming, a wider range of permissible difference, was ready to make his wishes known, with some expectation that they should be followed. To this unselfish and altogether comprehensible attitude of mind and theory of conduct the Diocese of Pennsylvania was unaccustomed. Most, not all, of the High Churchmen welcomed it; many of the Broad and Low Churchmen became rather restless under it.

Bishop Rhinelander leaned to the English conception of a bishop's duty and privilege. There was, however, more than that in his viewpoint. His convictions were deep, his ideas systematic; he thought it his Christian duty to support them in every possible way. Indeed, he looked upon their propagation as his mission and on the episcopate as his opportunity. A loyal friend, and a frank one, has written: "He had an extremely 'high' view of the 'divine right' of bishops, and again and again would say to me, 'I must not bear the sword in vain.'" It will be recalled that Rhinelander showed some dissatisfaction with the religious and theological attitude of the faculty and students at the Berkeley Divinity School and at the Episcopal Theological School. With some exceptions, he thought them too loose in their thinking and too vague in their conclusions. During those days he did not hesitate to show his disappointment and impatience, both in informal conversation and in open criticism. So strong was his feeling that from time to time it seemed as if the breaking point were reached, and that he would move away into an atmosphere of more congenial thinking and into work allowing him more perfect free-

dom. It is quite possible that he might have left Cambridge earlier than he did had not his work among the Harvard students and his personal religious associations with individuals of Cambridge and vicinity been so rich and so rewarding. He felt limited and cramped. He knew that he had not found his permanent sphere of influence.

It is reasonable to suppose that with his conception of the function and the opportunities of the episcopate he might welcome the change from theological school to diocese, for in the latter he might think it his duty to stand more openly for his conception of the Faith. Sooner or later the opportunity must come. Why not the opportunity offered by contacts with about two hundred clergy, and weekly visitations with addresses to confirmation classes, and sermons to congregations? Although there has been found among his letters and papers no specific statement that such was among the motives for his change from school to diocese, his previous disappointment and his later conduct would justify the conjecture. He would urge those over whom the Church had "made him overseer" "to think out their faith" and to work out its implications more thoroughly. This was his bounden duty.

As there never was a more honest man, nor one more conscientious, trouble was sure to lie ahead. While those who temperamentally agreed with him and were destined to enjoy twelve years of spiritual satisfaction—extraordinarily rich spiritual satisfaction, bearing all the marks of Christian content—those who found themselves unable to agree with him were fated to disappointment. They might enjoy him as a friend (and who could be more

cordially friendly?), but they could not understand his inability to respect religious theories which they themselves had tried to think through thoroughly.

It was natural that he should look for help and support to the theological school within his diocese. The faculty as a whole gave him a cordial and thoughtful welcome. Dean Groton, who had been a candidate for the Pennsylvania episcopate, wrote him a letter full of the kindest and most loyal feeling. Bishop Rhinelander had every reason to hope that they and he might together form a strong center of constructive influence. Furthermore, may he not have been governed in some of his thinking by remembering the bishops' schools in England—Durham, for example, housed under the same roof with Bishop Westcott, and Cuddesdon, next door to Bishop Stubbs of Oxford? They were specifically bishops' personal schools. The few independent English theological schools, like Kelham, Westcott Hall in Cambridge, and Ripon Hall at Oxford, were, in Rhinelander's day at Oxford, either nonexistent or not much beyond a rudimentary stage. He was accustomed to the bishop's direct, personal supervision of the school, and the bishop's personal responsibility for his men training for the ministry. And, so far as his own candidates for the ministry were concerned, was he not bound by the canons of his Church to direct their education?

As he already knew from his experience at Middletown and Cambridge there was another point of view in regard to theological schools. With the exception of Bexley Hall at Gambier, Ohio, and the school at Nashotah, which are bishops' schools, and the General Theological Seminary in New York which is responsible to the General Conven-

tion, the schools of the country are non-diocesan. In the latter case, the bishop may or may not be chairman of the board of trustees; he may or may not have some other official relation to the school within his diocese; he may or may not advise his men to enter the school. Whatever his connection with it, the position is purely advisory; his vote counts but one. Such was the bishop's relation to the Philadelphia Divinity School. He might advise, but he could neither urge nor compel.

Under such conditions—a liberal school, a liberal faculty, a school responsible, under the canons, only to itself, and a bishop believing in more direct episcopal authority—difference of opinion was inevitable. At a very early period of his episcopate he assumed a silent attitude toward the school, and later on he freely criticized it, not, as was his right, within the meetings of overseers and trustees, but openly among his clerical and lay friends. At an early date, also, he allotted the school to Bishop Garland as an important part of his episcopal sphere, thereby putting himself further into a position of indirect influence. Had he been consistent in this secondary relationship all might have been well, or had he exercised his privilege as chairman of the board to state his opinions frankly and clearly, no one could have taken exception to his conduct. His position was fraught with misfortune for both bishop and school.

The Bishop had some reason to be disappointed when on the sudden death of Dean Groton he was not consulted well in advance as to the Dean's successor. Before his consecration, and, therefore, naturally without his knowledge, a choice had already been in the minds of the members of

the board, so that action was easy and quick—the choice of one who had perceived the needs of the school and had been asked to put them into effect. Although present at the meeting where final action was taken, the Bishop was silent, evidently stunned at the lack of confidence and consideration. Had he known of the board's previous action he would have felt otherwise. As Bishop of the Diocese he was rightly concerned with the quality of the man elected to so important a diocesan position. Whether or not he had in mind another candidate, and one more to his own taste, is hardly the question. Had the board appreciated his unfamiliarity with plans already made, it would gladly have kept in closer touch with him.

Having relinquished the episcopal connection with the school to Bishop Garland, Bishop Rhinelander should have kept his hands off; he should not have become so personally hostile. Quite consistently, with his well-known loyalty to the institutions of the Protestant Episcopal Church and his belief that a Church theological school should confine itself well within the "strict construction" interpretation of those institutions, he was suspicious of the school's welcome to students of other Communions, primarily for graduate study; and although he did not hesitate to ordain a modernist to diaconate and priesthood he was opposed to his election to the faculty of the school. The fact that he was, like Bishops Gore and Hall, a "strict constructionist" made it impossible for him to welcome a modernist into a position of primary influence—it would be sanctioning modernism—although, recognizing the scholar's honesty and spirituality, he would approve of his occupying a less conspicuous position.

There can be little doubt that in spite of differences of opinion, trustees and faculty on the one hand and the Bishop on the other had deep respect for one another. One cannot avoid the conclusion that it was one more unfortunate instance of the age-long conflict between liberal and conservative, an opening of the rift so happily closed by Bishop Whitaker in the not very distant past—all the more unfortunate for the reason that the faculty of the school at that time wanted to be non-partisan and that continuously it has represented both types of opinion. Furthermore, one cannot help thinking that if the Bishop had been a little less openly partisan and a little more sympathetic with views not his own, a close and profitable alliance might have been made, much to the advantage of the diocese. The Bishop had not learned from his experience at the Berkeley and Episcopal Theological Schools that there were points of view, ecclesiastical and theological, unlike his own, and yet of value to the Church—views the significance of which it was his duty and privilege not only to understand, but to accord an honorable place in the Church's thinking. The Bishop's failure at the time to appreciate these values is all the more remarkable when one knows of his wide catholicity in later years in his selection of the lecturers at the College of Preachers. No one could have been more sympathetic and broad-minded than he in his practical conception of the limits of the Church and of the men who might make a useful contribution to it. Possibly his experience as bishop had widened his vision; possibly the religious earnestness of the Low Churchmen and Broad Churchmen and the independent attitude of certain High Churchmen had con-

quered him. At any rate, in his later years, ecclesiastical and religious inclusiveness was one of his salient characteristics.

Whatever may have been the Bishop's official relation to the theological school, he was in close touch with certain of the faculty. The dean, previous to his election, was for some years editor of the diocesan paper—a close associate of the Bishop in the determination of diocesan policies. One of the faculty, not wholly of the Bishop's theological frame of mind, has said of him, "Of all our Bishops here that I have known he was the most attractive." Another of the faculty, theologically distinctly unsympathetic, "told a small group that Bishop Rhinelander was without doubt the most spiritually-minded Bishop he had ever known, and that he was just about one hundred years ahead of the Diocese of Pennsylvania as leader, and because of this he would suffer martyrdom."

With many of the students he was on equally familiar terms. One of them writes: "Some of us . . . in the early spring of 1910 arranged for the first Quiet Day ever to be given there. We asked Dr. Rhinelander (then at the Episcopal Theological School) to come and give it. He did so, and the students, as well as the faculty attending, were greatly impressed. Many had looked on it as a high Church stunt, but having attended, their criticism was turned to praise. This first visit to Philadelphia made him known to several of the clergy, and was, I believe, the foremost reason for his name being placed before the Convention when Bishop Mackay-Smith asked for a Coadjutor in 1911. He kept close contact with the students of the P. D. S., and for those of us who knew him better, he was a wonderful

counsellor, friend, and inspiration. Every day that he could do so, especially when he had friends visiting him, several of us students would be invited to have tea or supper with him."

Within these quotations one notices the motif that appeared again and again throughout his previous experience—at Berkeley and Cambridge conspicuously. Whatever may have been his problems, whatever may have been his disappointments, he never ceased to be solicitous for the moral, the intellectual, and the spiritual welfare of the young men over whom he had formal or informal oversight. The quality of the training for the ministry, and the quality of the ministry itself were continuously on his heart and mind.

The Bishop was equally concerned with the welfare of the younger clergy. "One of the things that Bishop Rhinelander did for the younger Clergy of the Diocese was to gather them at his home or Old Church House for an afternoon of Conference, review of some new book of theology, or to be addressed by some one of ability in the Church. The best afternoons were those when he did most of the talking, and I know of many of the younger men of my day who were completely carried away by his joyous way of presenting our work. I recall the tremendous impression he made on Sam Booth, afterward Bishop of Vermont, and many others who have been devoted pastors of souls . . . I look back on our happy relationship as a most fruitful period in my life and Ministry."

If further witness is necessary to show his concern for the men "over whom he had been appointed overseer" (one of a bishop's primary obligations) one might add the

following for full measure: "Bishop Rhinelander from the very beginning was keenly desirous of establishing close personal contact with the clergy, especially the younger clergy. He would call us together in small groups, as all the clergy of this diocese make a rather large and unwieldy group for close contacts. I recall clearly his deep desire that we younger clergy should keep up our reading and devotions. His own keen intellect, so apparent in his discussions, was an incentive to this end. I can recall a number of such gatherings, especially in the early days of his Episcopate. I think as time went on he found the burden of diocesan routine duties a bit too heavy to allow as much time as he would have desired for these personal contacts. My impression was that his heart lay there. He was primarily a teacher and loved that part of his work. After the lapse of over thirty years I can recall some of the things he taught us. He loved his Lord and was very fond of scholarly discussion and research."

As we pass from these phases of his episcopate to another quite to our liking, and deeply characteristic, we cannot help noticing that unusual association of disagreement and affection—yes, admiration—whatever the disagreement. One knew him to be most sincere; one knew that he was deeply and vividly religious; one knew how transparently honest he was; one knew that he championed not himself but what he thought the truth.

While it was natural that those of a religious temperament somewhat alien to Bishop Rhinelander's, whether rectors, confirmation classes, or congregations, should not get all they might from his visitations, those who naturally opened themselves to his influence and to whom he, in

turn, opened himself, were deeply helped. One of them writes: "He was a true father-in-God to me and my family. Always so approachable, wise, and understanding, we found it natural to go to the Bishop's house often to consult him on spiritual matters. It was at his confirmation visitations that my people chiefly had their contact with the Bishop. They always looked forward to his simple and direct charges to the class on these occasions. Invariably he spoke helpfully to the experience even of the youngest. One instance stands out in my memory as so very characteristic. Coming to the rectory for supper before the confirmation, tired and somewhat tense after a busy Sunday, he requested five minutes alone with his pipe just before going over to the service. Then in church he gave a memorable extempore charge on the text, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost.' Long after, one of the then children of the class commented on it, 'He made it all so plain.' Known deservedly for his lucid intellectual presentation of the Faith, the Bishop had the capacity to bring truth home to plain people, because, I believe, of that characteristic trait—always eagerly seeking out a point of contact with the minds and experience of people, clergy and lay."

Another writes: "His sermons were always of deep, spiritual content. He was a true father-in-God as he spoke to classes at confirmation visits. I think he endeared himself to most people when he preached at confirmation services as much by the pleasing manner in which he spoke in the pulpit, always with frequent smiles and that seemingly little nervous laugh, as much as by the worth of his

utterances. I recall a statement by a priest in the Diocese, who had gone with him to a number of confirmation services, in which he said he was amazed at the scope of the sermons, so different and yet pressing home so well the same fundamental truths of the Christian life. He said he was amazed at the Bishop's ability to go on to three and four services a week, never seeming to repeat himself. He was indeed one of the greatest chief pastors of the American Church."

Still another writes: "I clearly remember his trying . . . to transform the routine of episcopal visits for confirmation, which in this Diocese previous to his coming had been very brief and very speedy, into episcopal visitations for the entire parish. He started to do this by going to a parish on Saturday night and having a preparation for Holy Communion; then on Sunday morning, celebrating at the early Service, visiting the Sunday School, and finally holding the confirmation service. In the course of his visitation . . . he would look over the parish records carefully and also have a real heart to heart talk with the vestry."

No bishop could be more solicitous than he for the moral and spiritual welfare of his clergy. Not only did he think it his duty to share his thoughts and his experience with them, but meeting with them, discussion with them, suggesting ways and means to them, were his delight. He would call his ordinands into retreat before the day of ordination, and, to cite from one preparation service only, he would advise giving time to reading and meditation; he would draw their attention to the ministry of prophecy, the ministry of priesthood, the ministry of kingship. In the first he would encourage setting forth the will of God

in ways the people could understand; in the second he would ask them to identify, in so far as possible, their wills with the creative will of God as God's will is known in Christ, remembering that they were part of the larger body, the Church, and buttressed in their endeavor by the sacraments, especially the Eucharist; in the third, drawing their attention to love as the divinely royal motive, he would persuade them to be sympathetic, self-sacrificial, patient.

Periodically he would gather the clergy together. Again to draw from one Quiet Day only, he would suggest that as a whole they might center on one New Testament book, if possible reading the Greek "with lexicon, but without commentary," without assistance of any kind to discover the inner meaning, with a view to the practical needs of people. He would draw their attention to definite books—books that had already helped him. To keep their spiritual life warm he would encourage reading the daily offices in the Book of Common Prayer. To preserve the vitality of their personal ministry he would urge that they call on their parishioners with a religious purpose in mind. All this he would, as it were, pour forth out of his own experience. As one records these methods of his one remembers how closely he followed his own advice.

The natural fulfillment of his personal concern with the quality of the clerical life (and no one had ideals higher than his) was the part he took in ordinations and consecrations. For one of these ordinations the text of his sermon is written in Greek (an outward sign of his care to cling to correct meaning). The title of each subsection is also written in Greek. As, at the time, he was ordaining

a New Testament scholar, it was natural that he should pass completely over into the field of him whom he was admitting to the Christian Ministry. And, then, equally to be expected, he called the attention of the one to be ordained, as well as that of the congregation, to the full meaning of the text. One must be blameless, in so far as his Christian attempt is concerned; one must not shrink from the implications of his ministry; one must stand for the whole counsel of God, not allowing one's self to pare it down, nor to take it piecemeal. When he preached at the consecration of Bishop Booth (the Sam Booth over whom he had such continuous influence from Booth's seminary days, and the one who had conceived and carried out the idea of a mission farm¹) he took the same subject, placing the main responsibility upon bishops to see that the *whole counsel* was preached. As we read the sermon, we find in it not only a clear reflection of Bishop Rhinelander's conception of the responsibilities of the episcopate, but also a description of the kind of ministry he was daily attempting to embody. Throughout the sermon there is a ring of reality; it was the natural consequence of his own thought and conduct and of his own ideals.

His personal concern did not stop with theological students and clergy. Throughout his diocesan episcopate, as well as before and after, he remained preferably the priest. Amid the stress of his administrative duties, he said to one whom he had tried to help spiritually, "You and a few others help me to realize that I am still a priest." That single remark reveals the Bishop's central ambition, his heartfelt wish, so difficult to realize amid the detailed

¹ A Christian co-operative agricultural experiment.

duties of the episcopate. He wanted to be the priest of priests to his clergy and to his people. The reader will have noticed the same longing, expressed in other ways, in his parish ministry, at Berkeley and at Cambridge—whenever he dealt individually with people he was a radiantly happy man.

Immediate personal association with individuals was the Bishop's favorite and most effective way of imparting his ideas and influence. He frequently reinforced this method by stating his convictions clearly and simply in his all-too-few printed volumes.

Although the Bishop had been, and continued to be, the author of many articles and pamphlets, it was not until 1916 that his first book appeared—*The Things Most Surely Believed Among Us*. It was followed in 1917 by *The Gospel of the Kingdom*; in 1918 by *Religion in War Time*; in 1919 by *The Faith of the Cross*. His last book, *Think Out Your Faith*, was not to appear until 1926, shortly after he became warden of the College of Preachers. *The Faith of the Cross* is the Paddock Lectures of 1914. The other titles, although containing thoughts common to his teaching, his sermons, and addresses, first appeared in book form. The primary quality of each is that the Bishop's personality only partially shines through. They are like all his other means of expression—his teaching and preaching, for example; they are not the full reflection of his own enthusiastic faith. Assuming the correctness of his presuppositions, his logic is faultless; assuming the historical authenticity of his interpretation of the New Testament and Church history, his reflections are valid. But the reader has to make these assumptions. In and of themselves, the

volumes lack the fullness and the richness that one may have found in conversation and discussion with the author. While the reader might value the books if he already knew the writer, he would fall far short of a discovery of the writer if he tried to discover him through the books. This remark becomes almost paradoxical when one adds that, taken together, these published thoughts reveal a vivid mastery of spiritual things.

Perhaps to repeat unnecessarily, the Bishop was a *Lux Mundi* Churchman. Like his old Oxford friends and acquaintances, Gore, Ottley, Talbot, and Moberly; and like his especial friends and counsellors on this side of the Atlantic—Hall, Kinsman, Manning, and Brent—he accepted the faith as handed down by the Anglican tradition, every detail of it; and, in his books, either gave a clear statement and exposition of it, or came to its defense. The statements and expositions are admirable. They may easily be used as preliminary theological and ecclesiological studies of the orthodox point of view. They are masterly in their composition and character. They are a reflection of the author's clarity of mind, yet they fall short of revealing the contagious power of personal association with the vividly religious Bishop. As one of his devoted admirers, and one who warmly sympathized with the Bishop's religious, theological, and ecclesiastical views has said, "I've read his books, but somehow they fail to do what he could do in conversation with a small group . . . But you know the old definition of education as being Mark Hopkins on one end of a log—well I could have spent many hours very joyously and profitably if Bishop Rhinelander had been on the other end of a log with me."

That disciplinary problems should come before the Bishop was to be expected. They are common to the episcopal office. To read Rhinelander's diaries is to be impressed with his care in their solution—by his patience and magnanimity. The culprit may have been personally insulting; he may have been disloyal to the canons of the Church; he may have been a downright wrongdoer; in consequence of the fault, whatever it was, he may have proved himself unfit for the ministry; but whatever the lapse from the moral standard expected in the ministry, in his treatment of the case the Bishop seemed utterly free from any consideration of self, completely aware of the fundamental merits of the case. If fault there was, it was in his being too sympathetic, too patient, too ready to forget the wrongdoing, and in his trying to make a man out of the culprit. Occasionally it looked as if he could not be convinced of sin so evident to others. He has been known to doubt the sin of the sinner, to be reluctantly persuaded of the sin, and after accepting the convincing evidence to pursue the penitent with kindness. If the evidence was conflicting he was temperamentally inclined to lean to mercy's side. His sympathy and his understanding were very deep.

Furthermore, his judgments of men were likely to be kindly—even of those whose conception of the Church and its teaching differed widely from his own. To a bishop who enquired about one of the clergy with the view of calling the man to another parish, he replied: "Theologically, I think he would acknowledge no authority of any kind, except his own intuitions and reactions. He very openly, in his own pulpit, strongly disagreed with my last con-

vention address [1923] in which I urged loyalty to the Church's faith, and warned his people against my point of view. Consistently, he could do nothing else. He is distinctly a free lance and thoroughgoing individualist . . . I believe there is little or nothing in this description of him which he and his friends would not agree to. On the other hand, he is a very unusually eloquent and moving speaker, with a soaring imagination and an uncommon gift of words. Even more than a preacher he is a poet. He has written some admirable poetry and his poetic instinct colors and controls his thoughts and words. He has a finely modulated voice and a sympathetic and attractive personality. Crowds of people (many of whom have strange religious views and affiliations) go to hear him and almost idolize him (which, I think, does him no good . . .)" The Bishop was telling the truth as he saw it, and yet he was commending the man for distinct virtues, making it quite clear that he did not agree with him, but equally clear that the man was fulfilling a useful function among those whose souls he touched.

There were also other questions to be faced—some rather novel, others more familiar.

Lest we think that the Bishop was too closely confined strictly to diocesan duties we may recall the "Stonemen's Fellowship," one of the most ecclesiastically inclusive and broadly evangelical attempts with which a bishop ever associated himself. Originating in an interdenominational men's club under the direction of the Rev. H. Charles Stone of Holy Trinity Memorial Chapel, and religiously stirred by the Billy Sunday campaign, the membership increased rapidly until it reached one thousand. At this point,

Mr. Stone asked the advice and assistance of George Wharton Pepper, a leading layman of the diocese. Mr. Pepper's participation resulted in the formation of three degrees of membership—enrollment and self-dedication; baptism for the unbaptized and for others a renewal of baptismal vows; admission to the Sacred Rite (Holy Communion). For the last, confirmation by an Episcopal bishop was essential, the candidate for confirmation accepting no particular theory of the episcopate—only the fact. The last degree in no way affected a member's allegiance to his own non-Episcopal communion; it simply enrolled him as one of an interdenominational body. The fellowship developed with astounding speed until it numbered "many thousands of men with a weekly attendance of three thousand." It had profound practical and religious effect; it stirred not only the community, but a much wider area. What would have been its later destiny if certain of its misguided members, much to Mr. Pepper's bitter disappointment, had not drawn it into local politics and given it an anti-Roman Catholic character, it is difficult to say. But such a political and sectarian tincture brought about a speedy dissolution; nothing remains of it.²

However, the point of this rehearsal of a well-nigh forgotten and most unfortunate episode is the part taken in it by Bishop Rhinelander. By common consent he was made the honorary chaplain. The peculiarly priestly function was his. He was to perform the "Apostolic Rite of Laying on of Hands." In other words, he was to initiate a custom unheard of in the history of the episcopate, although in

² George Wharton Pepper, *Philadelphia Lawyer*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1944, pp. 307-309.

principle suggested in recent proposed Church Unity constitutions. His defence was a simple one: when he was consecrated he was made a bishop of the Church Universal and not of the Protestant Episcopal Church only. He had no doubt of his rights in this larger field. It was a broad-minded attitude to take, very imaginative, very catholic. It makes one wonder what would have been his final position on the Protestant Episcopal-Presbyterian proposals. His sympathy with the cautious action of the Lambeth Conference may give the answer.

The Bishop hewed pretty close to the line when problems due to changing customs and a freer association among the Churches arose.

The practice of Intinction (the administration of the elements of the Holy Communion in the form of the wafer dipped in wine) was becoming widespread throughout the Church. For those who practised it there was the lesser advantage in shortening a service which with one priest officiating might be too long, and the more cogent advantage of eliminating all fear of contagion coming from the common cup. To the Bishop neither of these reasons was valid. Although there is no evidence that he made an official pronouncement on the practice, there is evidence that he asked that the usual method might be followed whenever he made his visitations. There is little doubt of his disapproval; equally little doubt that he did not forbid the growing custom.

With regard to a freer association among the Christian Communions, here again Rhinelander was not only conservative, but was also quite sure that problems arising from the desire for closer contacts should be laid before

the Church in convention assembled. In consequence of this double conviction he did not hesitate to urge his clergy not to open their pulpits to non-Episcopal ministers. In matters of this kind he was wholly in sympathy with the action of the Lambeth Conference of 1920. Furthermore, he would have all cases or practices of a doubtful nature—doubtful in regard to their permissibility—laid before the proper authority, that they might have corporate consideration rather than that they might more informally pass into general use. A conspicuous case of this kind was that of a bishop of another communion whose orders were recognized by one of the bishops of the Episcopal Church, and who was allowed to function as a bishop in the latter's diocese. Bishop Rhinelander sympathized with the action of his fellow bishop, and yet he thought it much wiser first to lay the matter before the House of Bishops and possibly before the General Convention. In all these matters the voice of the Church and not that of the individual should prevail. His attitude was invariably consistent.

Like all the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop Rhinelander took his part in the General Convention and in the Lambeth Conference, in each, meeting friends, in each, acquitting himself well.

He was present at the meeting of the General Convention in Detroit in October, 1919. Many middle-aged and older men will remember that Cardinal Mercier was in this country at the time, that he was given an honorary degree by Harvard and doubtless by other universities, and that he accepted an invitation to address a joint meeting of the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies. The Cardinal

had brought with him as his chaplain and secretary "Fuzzy" Dessain, who, it will be recalled, was one of the intimate circle of Christ Church, Oxford, undergraduates. Therefore, it was to be expected that Bishop Rhinelander would invite the Cardinal to address a meeting in Philadelphia, not only for the obvious reason that the people would like to see and hear the heroic cardinal, but also that the Bishop and his old Oxford friend might see something of each other. They greatly enjoyed the reunion. Although they had corresponded from time to time throughout the years, and had occasionally planned to meet on the Bishop's many European trips, this reunion, twenty-three years after leaving Oxford, was a joy to both. In the days of the Oxford friendship Rhinelander had taught him to sing "Here's to you, Fuzzy Wuzzy." The affectionate nickname, full of happy suggestions, stuck.

Rhinelander, as Bishop of Pennsylvania, was a member of the House of Bishops at four General Conventions —those of 1913, 1916, 1919, and 1922. Owing to ill health he was absent from the last. Participation in the sessions of the Convention was the least of the Bishop's responsibilities. Commission duty between sessions was the primary obligation. Although a diocesan bishop for only twelve years, he was given important appointments on commissions: World Conference on Faith and Order, Deaconesses, Revision and Enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer, of the second and third of which he was chairman. They were important posts, for the Lambeth Conference of 1920 was to give problems of Faith and Order primary consideration; the proper organization of the Order of Deaconesses was before the Anglican Com-

union on both sides of the Atlantic; England was on the point of making an abortive attempt to revise its Book of Common Prayer, and the Episcopal Church in this country was shortly to publish a new edition of its own book. With regard to Faith and Order, Bishop Rhinelander co-operated without taking any leading part, a less conspicuous part than he took later at Lambeth. Neither was he a leader in dealing with problems relating to the Book of Common Prayer. As chairman of the Commission on Deaconesses, he gave much time between conventions to securing the knowledge and opinions of competent men, and he had had the advantage of being at Lambeth on the report of which the present organization of Deaconesses in the Church of England is based. Under his chairmanship, the present English system was closely followed and the present system of the Protestant Episcopal Church determined. It was unfortunate that ill health deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing his devotion to the subject come to its satisfactory fulfillment.

The Bishop attended only one Lambeth Conference—that of 1920. He went to it willingly, realizing that he would be back again among the English friends of whom he was so fond, and knowing the importance of the issues that would be discussed. Mrs. Rhinelander went with him. In consequence of their many trips abroad together, she, by this time, was quite as much at home in England as he. Furthermore, as his sister had married the Rev. William Morgan-Jones of Bangor, Wales, they were sure of a family welcome also.

The conference was one of the best attended (two hundred and fifty-five Anglican bishops from all over the

world), and, according to the bishops' general opinion, by all means the most important.

The conference assembled at Lambeth Palace under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall T. Davidson. It discussed and formulated eighty resolutions, expressing only the "judgment" of the conference. These ranged all the way from an encouragement of international goodwill and support of the then incipient League of Nations, to sympathy with the Russian Church in those troublous times, and international temperance.

It also "received" and "published" Reports, adding that "the responsibility for the statements and opinions which they contain rests with the several committees by whom they were prepared." There were eighty of these—among others, International Relations, Industrial and Social Problems, The Position of Women in the Councils and Ministries of the Church, Problems of Marriage and Sexual Morality, Spiritualism, Christian Science and Theosophy, Relation to and Reunion with Other Churches. Within this last there were two subcommittees, one to consider Episcopal Churches, the other non-Episcopal Churches. Bishop Rhinelander was a member of the second subcommittee. Cosmo Gordon Lang, at that time Archbishop of York, a few years later Archbishop of Canterbury, was chairman. Bishop Rhinelander had good friends on the committee, both American and English, on the one hand William Lawrence of Massachusetts, on the other, Edward S. Talbot, Bishop of Winchester.

As interest in the various subjects has developed since those days, the purpose of the Eighth Committee stands high in significance, especially that section to which Bishop

Rhinelander gave primary attention. The subcommittee reviewed the contemporary proposals for reunion, the Concordat between Episcopalians and Congregationalists in North America; the proposed union of the Anglican Church with the United Church of South India; the Australian proposals relative to Presbyterians and others, etc. The subcommittee evidently made a wide survey.

Its conclusions were sympathetic, but cautious: "That a Bishop is justified in giving occasional authorization to ministers, not episcopally ordained . . . to preach in churches within his Diocese, and to clergy of his Diocese to preach in the churches of such ministers"; "That the Bishops of the Anglican Communion will not question the action of any Bishop who, in the few years during which a definite plan of union is maturing, shall countenance the irregularity of admitting to Communion the baptised but unconfirmed Communicants of the non-Episcopal congregations concerned in the scheme"; "That this Conference cannot approve of general schemes of inter-communion or exchange of pulpits, nor of the celebration in Anglican churches of the Holy Communion for members of the Anglican Church by ministers who have not been episcopally ordained, and . . . that it should be regarded as the general rule of the Church that Anglican Communicants should receive Holy Communion only at the hands of ministers of their own Church, or of Churches in communion therewith"; "That no priest has canonical authority to refuse communion to any baptised person kneeling before the Lord's table unless he be excommunicate by name, or, in the canonical sense of the term, a cause of scandal to the faithful."

There can be little doubt that Bishop Rhinelander warmly approved these resolutions for they fell in with views he had always held and was to hold thereafter. He was invariably sympathetic, but quite as invariably cautious. That he put his mind on these and other issues, and to some effect, is evident from the opinion held of him by one of his fellow committeemen (Bishop Talbot of Winchester) that Bishop Rhinelander was one of the ablest of the American representatives.

During the conference, Bishop and Mrs. Rhinelander spent two days at Lambeth Palace as the guests of the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson. The Bishop wrote his brother-in-law, Dr. Rives: "July 7, 10 A.M. Things crowd thick and fast—too many to make note of. We came in here Monday at tea time, after the session of the Conference, at 5 P.M. Fellow-guests are Vermont, Tennessee, and W. New York . . . Bombay and one other Colonial, Dover who lives here as Suffragan of Canterbury, the Chaplains and the women (Mrs. D., Miss Tait, and Mrs. Elliott, Cantuar's sister)—made up the household. Everything most simple and informal. Very friendly. Just leaving now. Maidstone, Sunday, July 11. A long break, but much business in between. Perhaps most interesting was luncheon on Wednesday with Lord Grey and Ackland at the litch house which Miss Robertson has taken at York Gate. Really delightful it was. We are to lunch shortly with Ackland, who, by the way, came to St. Paul's to hear me preach. His war work has been splendid. They gave him colonel's rank. Ethel and Daisy went with him to see some of the hospitals for wounded and crippled men. Lambeth is very moving and impressive. Henson is awful . . . Brent set him down ad-

mirably, with great applause! I followed him one day; so deeply stirred and indignant that I feared to let loose. I think I made my point fairly clear. Our Bishops have done well save . . . mere 'orators' full of sound and nothing more. I sat and agonized. This old house and place are beautiful, as is all Kent. The Maidstone Parish Church, where we were this morning, is one of the most interesting in England, and the Vicar (Hardcastle) a charming man. No time for more. We go to town tomorrow."

Shortly after the close of the conference, Bishop and Mrs. Rhinelander, with the Bishop of Rhode Island and Mrs. Perry, visited for a few days the Archbishop of York, Dr. Lang, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and during Bishop Rhinelander's Oxford days, Divinity Dean of Magdalen. Following this delightful rest with congenial friends, and with a host whose friendship was to deepen as the years went by, he and Mrs. Rhinelander returned to the United States.

Bishop Rhinelander's reflections on the conference in general were enthusiastic. On landing in New York he "let himself go" to the first reporter he met. The conference had given "a new vision of Christianity . . . No Bishop can have left the conference without feeling that the conclusions reached in the matter of reunion had made on him a unique and indelible spiritual impression . . . We had all reached the conclusion that we must say a new thing in a new way. After the first distress and doubtfulness, which at times almost amounted to despair, there came a change in mind and temper, gradually growing until it dominated us completely . . . As we prayed and thought under its inspiration we found our doubts re-

moved, our differences resolved, our way made clear, even if still difficult . . . The appeal urges that the past be forgotten and that means be found to heal the breaches. It is emphasized that what was intended was not a merger, but simply a great harmonious unity in which every individual may retain the benefits of his former religious experience . . . It is suggested that the Episcopate is the best means of providing a 'general ministry,' but this is not made conditional."

From the interview above it is quite evident that Church unity was the primary concern of the conference, and that it eclipsed all other subjects in the mind of Bishop Rhinelander. So far as the reportorial interview was concerned, he did not mention the position taken by the conference on temperance, capital and labor, marriage and divorce, contraception, etc., although, doubtless, he was strongly in favor of the somewhat conservative conclusions reached. However, he did tell the reporter that England was deeply disappointed and somewhat embittered by the unwillingness of the United States to enter the League of Nations—a matter on which the conference as a whole held strongly favorable views.

It is evident that every aspect of Bishop Rhinelander's episcopate in Pennsylvania cannot be dealt with for his twelve years of service were packed with constructive effort. Shortly after his death in 1939, the diocesan *Church News* summarized the points at which he effectively touched the life of the diocese:

"He revived the cathedral idea, and it was as a result of his initiative, following a bequest from the wife of Senator Watson for the erection of a church in South Phila-

adelphia as a memorial to her mother, that the former Church of the Ascension, Broad and South Streets, was turned over to the Diocese, and made the Pro-Cathedral of St. Mary.

"He proposed to build a cathedral on the Parkway, but the plans never came to fruition. It fell to the lot of his successor, Bishop Garland, to see under way plans for the cathedral now under construction in Upper Roxborough.

"Many other important works were initiated here by Bishop Rhinelander. The canon providing for the election of an Executive Council was acted upon at the 135th Diocesan Convention in May, 1919, and the body came into being.

"The *Church News* was begun by Bishop Rhinelander in 1912 for the purpose of promoting unity of diocesan life and the missionary and benevolent work of the Diocese.

"The splendid Missionary work among the foreign born population living within the boundaries of the Diocese is another example of the enterprise of this outstanding leader, who has been called by contemporaries an 'intellectual giant' whose 'greatness would have shown in any field he might have entered.' "

Nor must it be forgotten that the War Commission of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, almost completely self-supporting, was one of the most admirably organized and most effective in the entire Episcopal Church. The Bishop's detailed connection with it is not clear, but it was an integral part of the careful system of which he was the head.

It is inspiring to see Bishop Rhinelander's superiority to his physical condition. Throughout his two professorships and his episcopate he was severely handicapped by heart

trouble. He was always in touch with a heart specialist; he obeyed his physician's directions; he ordered his life, domestic and professional, with this weakness in mind. And yet it was only natural that from time to time his condition should get the better of him. When those occasions occurred he wisely and completely yielded. Three years before his resignation he had an exceptionally bad attack of weakness which put him to bed for three weeks, and it became clear to him that his physical condition might not be equal to the constant and exacting demands of the episcopate. But however mild or serious the attack, whether up and about with restricted hours of work or flat on his back, the type of work suitable to his condition went on. There never seemed to be any period of complete inactivity. Even though the body was resting, the mind was dealing with Pennsylvania's problems and people. And there is little doubt that frequently he rose superior to his limitations and, apart from natural fatigue, was none the worse for it. On Good Friday, 1922, he conducted the Three Hour Service, the most gruelling test of body and spirit that a clergyman can meet.

Twelve years of not over-vigorous physical condition and of duties incident to the diocesan episcopate were becoming too much for the Bishop. Twelve years of association with too large a number of unsympathetic and therefore un-co-operative clergy and laity, and with a Suffragan whose points of view were not his, were beginning to exact their toll. From time to time he would rest for a week or two. Fairly long vacations were essential. His condition becoming more critical in 1922, he was persuaded to spend the following winter in California. He and his family set-

tled down in Montecito. The winter gave him an opportunity to appraise his health and his work. Reluctantly, very reluctantly, he decided to withdraw from the office to which he was so deeply convinced God had called him. On Easter Monday, 1923, he wrote to his sister, Mrs. Rives: "Much water has flowed under bridges in Philadelphia and here! With the result that it is becoming clear that I ought to resign my active work as Bishop of Pennsylvania . . . (1) Examined here the other day by a *very* high-stand heart specialist named Kolford, very famous on Pacific coast, very human and sympathetic. He corroborates Waterman and Winslow in Boston and Cummins in Philadelphia, that my reserve strength will not in the future be sufficient to stand heavy, constant strain, on mind and body, of active and difficult administration. I would be on the edge; always be liable to *temporary* relapse, possibly to permanent one. I am fully back to my *abnormal* normal, so to say, pulse 85, blood-pressure 118 (excellent for me): no leak or murmur; only slight dilation, with many years ahead of useful work if I can haul off and be free at intervals and dispose of time and appointments at discretion. But *continuous* strain of responsibilities and claims of sudden calls and crises must be avoided, in fairness to the work itself as well as to me and my family. (2) In the Diocese my friends are no fewer or less loyal, but the opposition is getting more concentrated and determined as my plans and policies have taken shape . . . Given full strength and unsparing labor I could win out, after a slow, long struggle . . . My mind and conscience tell me that to follow the doctors' strong advice is to act for the good of the Church. A second Suffragan might possibly and ideally

make it right to hold on. But (1) even if the ideal man were found and given to me and (2) if the whole Diocese fell in line in support of the scheme (which would by no means be the case) . . . even so I might not be fit to carry on. And Suffragans are not to be multiplied and saddled on the Church without *evident* justification . . . I shall make no move till I reach Washington and you. I have written Waterman for "certificates." I shall bring Kolford's with me. I have asked Bishop Hall for advice as to procedure. I enclose a draft of my proposed letter to Dr. Perry, the President of the Standing Committee . . . My mind and conscience grow easier and lighter as I accustom myself to what seems the righteous course . . ."

Bishop Rhinelander, being fully persuaded that the time had come, offered his resignation to the diocese and to the House of Bishops.

At the time of his resignation expressions of respect and appreciation came from various quarters. Resolutions were passed by the Standing Committee of the Diocese, by the Diocesan Convention, and by the House of Bishops.

From the Standing Committee came this resolution:

The Standing Committee of your diocese desire to express to you their profound sorrow that you are no longer physically able to bear the heavy burdens of work and responsibility which you have for so long and courageously carried. We regret that the harmonious and affectionate relations with us which during your episcopate have been formed and strengthened must be severed.

We heartily thank you for the courtesy and consideration which you have always shown to us as your Council of Advice, for your self-denying labors and efficient administration of this Diocese, holding it up to high standards and responsibility, developing its resources and capabilities and making the years of your Episcopate a proud

record in the history of the Diocese. We hope and pray that being relieved of many burdens and responsibilities you will find your strength renewed, and will be able to render valuable services to the Church at large. In these we shall take a personal satisfaction and pride as being given by him who in our thoughts and affections will always be our Bishop.

Affectionately and faithfully yours,

James DeWolf Perry, President, for the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Perry added this personal word:

I think that you and Mrs Rhinelander know how sincerely I admire and love you both and that Mrs Perry fully shares this with me. We feel a great personal loss in having you removed from Philadelphia and gratefully appreciate the pleasure and privilege of your friendship and would thank you both for this and for many kindnesses which we have received from you.

Affectionately yours,

J. DeWolf Perry

The Diocesan Convention passed the following resolution:

It is surely most fitting that the DIOCESE OF PENNSYLVANIA should bear testimony to the sincerity and self-sacrificing zeal of THE RT. REV. PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER, D.D., who for twelve years has given of his strength of body and mind for the welfare of the church under his jurisdiction.

With rare devotion Bishop Rhinelander has not only met the ordinary demands of the Diocese, but has held before us ideals of growth and spiritual efficiency which have brought lasting results. In spite of suffering, bravely concealed, he has given to the large field under his care a personal interest which can never be forgotten, and the results of his work can never be destroyed, for they have become a part of the Diocesan life.

No detailed account need be given here, even if it were possible to record the innumerable agencies fostered and the spiritual impetus

given to individuals and churches by his consecrated zeal. Knowing full well the loving earnestness of our Bishop and the desire which controlled him faithfully to fulfill his mission, we gratefully bear witness to the devoted and self-sacrificing giving of himself body, mind and spirit, to the service of God in this Diocese.

Many advanced movements in material and spiritual things have taken form and brought results. Especially has his inspiration been felt in the growth of Diocesan Unity. These twelve years of our Bishop's life leave VISIBLE AND SPIRITUAL MEMORIALS more enduring than brass: the visible things will always bring freshly to memory the personal work of our Father in God: the spiritual blessings known and felt by hundreds of his flock, will be known in the day when all things are revealed.

Thus expressing, imperfectly but sincerely, a deep appreciation of the Bishop's work among us, we thank God for it all: and we assure the Bishop of our HEARTFELT GRATITUDE. Sorrowing for the physical suffering which forbids the further continuance of his guidance of the affairs of the Diocese—forbids it for the sake of the work and for his own sake—

WE BEG TO EXPRESS on behalf of the people of the Diocese our earnest hope for his continued usefulness when relieved of the heavy diocesan burdens, and to assure him of our loving prayers and of the CONTINUANCE OF AN AFFECTION which the severance of our ecclesiastical relationship can not bring to an end.

(Signed by Bishop Garland and thirty-two representative men and women.)

The House of Bishops accepted the resignation on the following recommendation from its committee:

The Bishop of Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. Philip Mercer Rhinelander, D.D., having taken canonical action looking to the resignation of his Diocese, because of continued ill health and the insistence of his physicians that the necessity for relief was urgent, your committee recommend that the resignation of the Bishop of Pennsylvania be accepted, with the expression of deep regret that this course must be pursued, and with profound sympathy for both the Bishop whose

consecrated labors as such must be withdrawn from his Diocese, and with the Diocese that is thus deprived of his loving and affectionate oversight. We trust that his life and health will be so preserved as to enable him to serve the Church in the many ways that will be still possible to him.

I am for the House,

Faithfully yours,

Clarence L. Pardee, Secretary.

There were many other expressions of respect and affection. One of his secretaries wrote:

The Bishop, as I knew him, was a man in whom seemed to be embodied every characteristic that was saintly and fearless. One found in him a godly man with a great love in his heart for his fellow men. His face reflected the spiritual radiance of his high ideals, and just to be in his presence produced a warmth of comfort and peace in one's soul that it is hard to describe. And fearless—no matter what the cost—he was not afraid to defend those things which he deemed to be right and just. His personality made a very real, vital, and lasting impression upon a great many of those with whom he came in contact. He was very sensitive to the feelings and moods of those around him. One was soon at ease in his presence, and felt here was a friend who seemed to read one's innermost thoughts—in whom one could confide—a feeling, I know, which brought much solace to a troubled heart. Many persons, to whom he granted interviews, came with sad anxious faces, and when they left his presence a little later, I knew they carried away with them a feeling of tranquillity—that all was well—as was expressed in their changed countenances.

And finally this from a priest, scholar, and friend:

It has been on my mind to express to you a judgment on your Episcopate. It is quite uncalled for, but all the more so is it honest. As I look back, and as I find it appreciated by many with whom I speak, these two factors stand out:

1. You have changed the Diocese from a conglomeration of Parishes into an Ecumenical Diocese. In part this is due to the course

of the times, but it is due primarily to your leadership. Pennsylvania will never be the same as it was before. I remember that once you said to me that you feared that administration was not your strong point. But you put the spirit into the wheels, and it's very wonderful how especially the laymen gathered about you, and you effected the consolidation of 'the Church in Philadelphia.' The credit for this is yours.

2. You have given the Diocese a spiritual pastorship such as it has never had. I am enough of a real 'Episcopalian' to feel that the Bishop should be the Chief Pastor, have always regretted the fatality which tends to make him only an administrator or mere public man. Especially do we clergy need that spiritual help. Nor can I see how the priest who functions as pastor to souls can deny his need of comfort from some other man. Wherein Bishops have often been weak, you have been strong. It is not an easy line to function in, and if you feel you have aroused antagonisms, you have only to remember that it is not the flesh but the spirit which is the toughest and most contrary part of us, and you can feel that if in any case you have been disappointed it is only because you have been 'bucking at the hardest part of the line.'

You have blessed us, dear Bishop, and may the blessing be reflected upon you, and may God keep you in His service for long.

Let the last words of this chapter be those of the Bishop himself in which, in a consecration sermon, he gives his picture of the episcopate as it is, and as it ought to be:

We are here to add another Bishop to the great company: another link to the long line. What is a Bishop really for? What will this Bishop be about when we have consecrated him? It is easy enough to make a list of the various items which will fill up his time, and crowd the pages of his diary. He will be attending to, so far as it is given him, general diocesan affairs, especially the welfare of the Clergy. He will be ordaining and confirming. He will be visiting the parishes and missions, as chief shepherd of the flock. He will be presiding at meetings great and small. No modern Bishop may escape their ceaseless round. He will be making addresses of all sorts and to all sorts. He will be

dedicating buildings and many other things as well. He will be raising money, writing letters, and giving interviews. He will be all things to all men, and to all women too. Innumerable doors are open to him: innumerable calls are made upon him. His 'activities,' to use a distasteful modern word, would fill a book. All these activities have place. All are typical and characteristic, some much more rightly so than others. But none of them is primary. None of them gives the true meaning of Episcopacy.

What then are Bishops for? Why, Bishops are set in the Church to do what St. Paul says he gave his life in doing: to declare the whole counsel of God, and to declare it without shrinking.

Again, note carefully that the Bishops are to do this, not for themselves, but for the Church. It is the whole Church; not any part of it, nor group in it; not even the whole House of Bishops; it is the whole body which has the mission, the duty, the responsibility. The truth and grace of Jesus Christ is a corporate possession. The Church is His representative, His agent, His trustee. The whole Church has the whole counsel to declare. But in declaring it, the Bishops are chief ministers or organs. They chiefly do it for the Church. The Church chiefly does it through them.

In his last message to the diocese, delivered in Holy Trinity Church on November 12, 1923, Bishop Rhinelander said: "Hold to the historic faith which has made the Church triumphant in the past. Trust not to incompetent leaders. Fix your goal and be true to the traditions of the Church. Dare to be conservative; dare to hold fast whatever of the past years you have of faith, wisdom, courage, chivalry, honor."

CHAPTER VIII

The College of Preachers

SHORTLY AFTER his resignation from the Pennsylvania episcopate, Bishop Rhinelander and his family moved to Washington, D.C., expecting to make it their permanent home. Washington was a familiar city to him, for there his sister, Mrs. Rives, and her husband lived; there he had passed the first years of his ministry; there, in close association with Bishop Satterlee, he had watched the beginnings of the cathedral foundation.

For a year or more after leaving Pennsylvania, he was forced, doubtless greatly against his will, to look forward to a life of comparative inactivity. Although for many years he had not been vigorous, he had proved himself equal to a demanding schedule of work. Consequently he had good reason to believe that he could study, write and publish; that he could conduct services and preach; that he could lead retreats and quiet days. These, however, in contrast with the interests and occupations of the previous thirty years, could hardly satisfy a man of his consuming energy and devotion. He was shortly to discover that the wardenship of the College of Preachers would overtax neither body nor mind.

In the College of Preachers Bishop Rhinelander was to



THE COLLEGE OF PREACHERS

find his perfect freedom—the fulfillment of his ideals, and the opportunity to put into practice his conception of the ministry. And, in so far as the public was concerned, as warden of the college his varied powers were to be discovered. He had been a parish priest, a theological school teacher and a diocesan bishop. In each he had shown rare qualities. In the college, however, all these interests and powers of his were to be gathered up, enriched, and consecrated to the clergy who successively were to come under his direction. In consequence, throughout the country there was to spread an increasing number of men who were to look upon him as an inspiring and directing influence in their lives. However affectionately he may be remembered as a parish priest, teacher, and bishop, and however deeply men may value his services as such, there can be little question that the College of Preachers was nearest his heart, that its opportunities were commensurate with his abilities, and that the results achieved were the clearest and the most characteristic reflection of his purpose.

Over the fireplace in the living room of the College of Preachers hangs a portrait of Alexander Cochran, the man who made the college financially possible. At the suggestion of the Washington diocesan, Bishop Freeman, Mr. Cochran gave five hundred thousand dollars for a building and one million dollars for its endowment. Some years previously Bishop Freeman had been Mr. Cochran's rector at Yonkers. During the intervening years the friendship had not only continued, but it had become enriched—so much so that there was seldom a significant event or problem in Mr. Cochran's life with which Bishop

Freeman was not familiar. At the time of the gift, Bishop Freeman had gone to France at Mr. Cochran's urgent request. "He reached Paris in the evening and went to Mr. Cochran's apartment. The two friends had a long and intimate talk. Finally the Bishop said: 'You are ill and I am tired. It is time to retire. For all the joy of being with you, I ought to be in Washington at this very moment.' 'Why?' asked Mr. Cochran. 'Because the College of Preachers is in session there.' The statement electrified Mr. Cochran. 'Tell me about it,' he urged. The Bishop told him of the plans and possibilities for the college." The generous gift followed, for Mr. Cochran thought that preaching was not what it ought to be, and that it was the responsibility of the Church to nurture it thoughtfully and thoroughly.

Some years before the Cochran gift, and while the policies of the Washington Cathedral were developing, Monell Sayre, executive secretary of the Church Pension Fund, had discussed with others the need of a revival within the Episcopal Church, and the relation of preaching to such a revival. Bishop Rhinelander, as a member of the cathedral chapter, to which he had recently been elected, agreed with Mr. Sayre that revivals and preaching were inseparable. With the consent of the chapter a plan was drawn up, which, for one reason or another, never went beyond the preliminary stage. But, after all, every significant movement must pass through the stages of rehearsals and dress rehearsals, of attempted and abandoned plans, and finally of maturer and better plans.

The cathedral policy, Bishop Freeman's wish, and the Cochran gift were the providential fulfillment of Bishop Rhinelander's deepening conviction that a postgraduate

school for preaching was a vital need of the Church. As has been suggested, Bishop Rhinelander's dream had preceded its gratification by some years. In his all-too-short history of the college¹ he returns to the beginning of his ministry, when Bishop Satterlee, only recently made Bishop of Washington, put him in charge of St. Alban's Church, now within the cathedral close; and when, in the following year, the Bishop appointed him, along with William DeVries and Charles Harris Hayes, to the staff of his pro-cathedral, St. Mark's, East Washington. These three young men, only recently ordained, were to live with and to teach the deacons of the diocese. In other words, here was a College of Preachers in embryo. In his historical sketch, Bishop Rhinelander goes on to say that Bishop Satterlee carried his educational theories over into the policies of the cathedral on Mt. St. Alban. "He laid insistent stress on it. He gave it an essential place in his cathedral plans. The cathedral was to be above all else a missionary institution. Every aspiring accessory—architecture, music, painting, sculpture—was to bring its contribution. The romance of history, the greatness of the Church's past, were to be mirrored in its fabric, in order to capture men's imaginations and to enkindle their devotions. But all was to be for the extension of the Kingdom. Preaching was to have a foremost place as the primary means of conversion and instruction. But it must be preaching worthy of its opportunity. Zeal was not enough. There must be knowledge and sound learning in the best Anglican tradition. In the prevailing atmosphere of unbelief and disbelief the cathedral preachers must be trained to bear authoritative and

¹ In *The Cathedral Age*, Winter 1937-38, Washington, D.C.

convincing witness to the authentic Gospel as found in the historic creeds.”²

Building on Bishop Satterlee’s ideal and on his own possession of that dream, Bishop Rhinelander found himself at last in a position to translate the vision into action. It was shortly after his election to the cathedral chapter that he and Mr. Sayre were asked to formulate their plans. Mr. Sayre’s efforts had been helpful, but not financially profitable. A friend had given Bishop Rhinelander fifty thousand dollars, the income of which he might use to get some kind of classes under way. And then came the Cochran gift!

Unwilling to wait for the completion of the new building, the Bishop sent out invitations to the first class. As the rooms used by this and many subsequent classes were under the roof of the Cathedral School for Girls, it was necessary to hold the single annual session after the end of the academic year. These rooms, together with the Diocesan Library, offered space for a class of about fifty men—about twice as many as the new building would shelter. The college had begun, and in spite of having no home of its own and of its infrequent sessions, the meetings gave a foretaste of the school that was to be. The day began with the Holy Communion and ended with Compline. Morning and Evening Prayer and Intercessions came at convenient hours throughout the day. Lectures, conferences, preaching, and discussion of sermons filled the working hours. At the outset, and virtually at the warden’s sole choice, a widely representative series of clergy, many from non-Episcopal communions, were invited to direct the ses-

² *Ibid.* p. 59.

sions. They came; they gave of their best; they and their students had most friendly and inspiring times together.

This effective, although preliminary, program continued until 1929. In the meantime the staff and their guests watched the steady progress of the new building. It was to be well-nigh perfect in every detail, owing to the already clear-cut and well-thought-out ideas of the cathedral officers. When at last the time came to occupy the building, it was necessary only to move in, for plans for worship and teaching had already been tried and found sufficient.

In the words of the warden: "At last, on Nov. 14th, 1929, the great day came, of dedication, first of the College Chapel, named for St. Augustine of Hippo, at Mr. Cochran's request; then the building as a whole, with a procession of clergy vested and singing in procession as they went from room to room. The beauty of these services was largely due to Dr. Walter Frere, then Bishop of Truro, who helped us with his unrivalled knowledge of liturgics. The next day the first conference in the new building was called to order by the late Frank Woods, Bishop of Winchester—'Preaching the Gospel to Men and Women of Today.' So, four and a half years after its first sessions, the college was launched on its course with full equipment for its work."

Although the earliest sessions of the college were housed in attractive and commodious quarters—the Cathedral School for Girls, apartments nearby, the Diocesan Library, and the cathedral chapels—freedom and contentment were greatly increased after the Cochran building was completed and occupied. As many know, it stands well up

toward the top of Woodley Road, on land falling away from the apse of the cathedral. Entering by a short flight of steps, one finds oneself in a hall of moderate size from which open, on the left the refectory, on the right the entry leading to the lecture rooms and chapel, immediately in front and up a half-flight of steps the library, which also serves as the common room. The library gives on a small quadrangle and gothic cloister. On the second floor, over the entrance, are the offices of the bishop of the diocese and the rooms of the warden's chaplain. At the opposite end of the same story, with windows opening toward the apse of the cathedral, are the warden's bedroom and study, and the offices of his secretary and the librarian. Rooms for the leaders of the conferences are on the second and third stories and in the tower, consisting of study, bedroom and bath. The kitchen and quarters for the steward are at the south end of the first floor, the quarters of his men are on the second floor. The chapel is at the opposite end of the first floor. The building is lovely in its "architectural irregularity."

The refectory is high, well proportioned, with a monastic pulpit in the wall at the right of the entrance. At present a portrait of the first warden hangs on the south wall, opposite the door as one enters. Two tables suffice for the average group of twenty-five men. Bishop Rhinelander sat always at the head of one table, the invited leader of the current conference at the head of another. And such happy mealtimes they were! Plenty of laughter, plenty of good talk, especially when, as usual, the warden was there. Never was there a man more full of fun or of more serious purpose. Bishop Powell has told with what unerring tact the

warden would get the man whom he most wanted to see to sit beside him: "The bell would ring for a meal. He would lead the way into the refectory and, as if quite by accident, the very one he wanted to draw out further, found himself beside the warden. I have watched him at this trick and have been amused to see how perfectly it always worked—on me as well as others! He seemed to care nothing about food for the body, and more than half the time I doubt if he knew what he was eating. But oh! how he cared for food for the mind, and how often he provided it lavishly at the luncheon table; rarely to more than three or four, more often to only one."³

On the other side of the hall, beyond the rectangular classrooms and robing-room, and up a few steps, one comes to St. Augustine's Chapel where the daily services are held. It is a simple chapel, perfectly appointed, with benches, desks, and windows and altar hangings in faultless taste. Benches and desks are placed antiphonally, with stalls for the warden and the conference leader at the "west end."

The library, as already noted, is a half-flight above the entrance hall and opening out of it. It is a large room, fairly high, with bookshelves at both ends and on either side of the fireplace, with large mullioned windows opening on the lovely cloister and quadrangle. Opposite the fireplace the windows form a bay within which are settles and a table. In this room every chair and the two large leather sofas on either side of the fireplace are made for comfort. Here men may rest and read, smoke and converse, and here the more informal talks and discussions take place.

The members of a conference usually gathered on Mon-

³ Address at dedication of Memorial Tablet.

day afternoon and left Washington on Saturday morning. Unless a man lived more than twenty-four hours by rail from Washington, he could enjoy all the sessions without losing a Sunday in his parish—a convenience to the average clergyman who, because of parochial duties, expense, or some other good reason, might find it impossible to be away from home on a Sunday. Those coming longer distances (and at each conference there were men from the four points of the ecclesiastical compass) must lose at least one Sunday. While each was expected to meet part of his expenses, no one was prevented from coming for financial reasons. Matters of this sort were arranged by the warden or by his chaplain.

Mrs. Rhinelander presided at the Monday afternoon tea table. Bishop Rhinelander was nearby ready to introduce to her the leader of the conference and its members. Those who have attended these informal receptions will not forget the warm and genuine welcome, the friendly introductions, the warden's enthusiastic good nature as he passed from man to man with an especial greeting. Rhinelander had never lost his fondness for the institution of afternoon tea, not only for its bracer at an otherwise dull hour of the day, but for the opportunity it offered for meeting old and new friends and for good talk. Mrs. Rhinelander shared this feeling of his. From that moment, throughout the week, men felt that they were at home and that they were in reality brothers. Even before the men had had a meal together or a late evening talk (discouraged by the authorities), they began to feel singularly at ease. It was all due to the apparent pleasure the Bishop and Mrs. Rhinelander took in meeting them and in putting themselves at their

service. With such a beginning, a successful session was assured.

Evening Prayer followed tea, the warden almost invariably conducting this service. After dinner and a half-hour or so of informal social intercourse and further opportunity to get to know one another better, the warden would call the men to order in the library. He would stand behind a table near the middle windows. He would then first call on the leader of the conference to sign his name in the college register, and then on each of the members in alphabetical order. When all had signed, he would explain very simply the nature of the session, not only in regard to services, lectures, and discussions, but also in regard to personal conduct necessary to a profitable week. And with what grace and charm he would do it! One would think that such an introductory talk might be quite prosy, but never as he gave it. He would stand there in his purple cassock, erect, fair-haired, happy, enthusiastic, delighted at the prospect of the week's work, and the contagion of his pleasure would pass to those who watched and listened. After his short talk everyone was ready for action. If Bishop Freeman was available, Rhinelander would ask him to speak to the men, telling them of Mr. Cochran and of his hopes for the college. The Bishop would comply with enthusiasm and fervor, so that whenever the men glanced at the portrait above the fireplace they would know to whom they were indebted for the comfortable and attractive surroundings within which they found themselves.

The warden would then present again the leader of the conference, giving him whatever time he needed to tell

the men what he would try to do and what he would expect of them—the general subject, the topics of individual lectures, suggested reading, anything that would give substance to the program. The warden would then give the men the opportunity to ask questions relative to the main subject or methods of procedure.

The character of these opening meetings was unique. Here were men gathered from many parts of the country, of all types of Churchmanship, nearly everyone with an average of from five to fifteen years in the ministry, each well aware of his shortcomings and his needs as a preacher, each frankly ready for information and direction. But, more than this, each had been personally selected by the warden after an exchange of careful letters, and each had been given suggestions in regard to reading that might make him more ready for the conference. This meant nothing other than that the warden and his men had become friends before they had met. When they saw each other face to face it was as if they needed no introduction. Those who have been present at many of these opening meetings will not forget their perfect temper.

Bishop Rhinelander's experience had fitted him peculiarly for the selection of conference leaders. He had been a parish priest; he had taught in two theological schools, and he had been an officer in another; he had been a diocesan bishop; he had been trained in England; he had attended a Lambeth Conference; his local, national, and international acquaintance was wide. Also, he was respected. Men were ready and eager to do what he asked, for they knew it would be worth while. Therefore he successfully summoned men of competence in their subjects and they were

glad to come—parish priests, biblical and theological scholars, preachers and pastors of distinction. As he did not confine himself to the Anglican Communion he commanded the best of other Churches. In one way or another he had come in contact with them all. And while some of the non-Episcopal group might not feel altogether at home in the somewhat monastic devotional program of the College of Preachers, all of them thought Rhinelander's institution was filling a vital need, not only for his Church, but for their Communions as well. The warden's contacts were very catholic in the proper meaning of that word. His plans partook of the same large character.

The conference leader was to have a morning and an evening lecture, each of an hour's length. At the end of the morning lecture the men would separate into three groups, each with a secretary, to discuss the contents of the lecture. At noon, after intercessions, the groups would gather in the living room, when, in turn, they would put their questions to the leader. The evening lecture took place in the living room, followed, as in the morning, by discussion. Bishop Rhinelander and some of his associates were usually present. The leader was put to his trumps. The questions were intelligent and incisive; there was lively give and take. The leader could not count on agreement, neither did he want to, for he had come to learn as well as to teach. The leader naturally thought that the morning and evening discussions, in the comforts of the living room, when men were at their ease, some smoking, the warden with his pipe, were the most rewarding. Rhinelander, in these frank interchanges of ideas, was invariably sympathetic and helpful. His presence greased the wheels

of discussion rather than otherwise. His questions were rather searching, for they were based on study and thought, and they were asked, not only because he wanted to know, but also because he represented the need of many of the men. He hoped they would look back on the conference gratified with an addition to their previous religious and theological information.

The noonday discussion hour was preceded by intercessions. They were led most frequently by Bishop Rhinelander. His belief in intercessory prayer was deep. His manner of prayer reflected his belief. He was always simple and totally without affectation. He would ask the men whether they had personal problems, or domestic, or other matters which they would have him express in prayer. But he would never forget the larger concerns of the College of Preachers and the Church. One of his closest associates, a friend and companion at the college of many years standing, has written of them: "Very often he soared far above the heads of his listeners, and they never could have told another exactly what he had said, but somehow he seemed, as he communed with heaven, to be able to share with his listeners a glimpse of the things that he saw and heard, and which could not be produced in words. A past master in the realm of spiritual philosophy, he was so far beyond the ordinary in his comprehension of the spiritual world, that he often left others far behind, but through the atmosphere he created, he could communicate a shadow of the things he saw and heard, . . . a personal sense of the Divine and its reality and nearness, into their souls. His power and influence consisted not just in words that he spoke, but in

the atmosphere that he created, in bringing individual men into the presence of God.”⁴

Another, a Fellow, that is, one who had spent two months at the college devoting himself to a special subject, has written: “You have no doubt heard him lead the noon intercessions time and time again and will recall his familiarity with collects, the ease with which he managed various and diverse subjects, for intercession, mostly submitted by conference members. I have many times suffered torments trying to lead such a period of intercessory prayer at Retreats, Quiet Days, etc., and although I have tried hard, it always is difficult for me to make diverse petitions sound anything but mechanical and rather like a laundry list. The Bishop would make such simple transitions, so brief, yet utterly right. He could pull ejaculatory prayers from the Psalter and from the New Testament in masterly fashion. He made the prayer of intercession come alive, and he never, never finished any such period without stress on the prayer of Thanksgiving.”⁵

As Bishop Rhinelander lived at some distance from the college, he was not present so frequently either at the early morning Holy Communion, at the nine o’clock Meditations, or at the late evening Compline. He had to conserve his strength, but whenever he was present and led the service, whichever it might be, the impression made upon others was the same. His successor, in his address on the unveiling in the chapel of the memorial tablet has said: “It is his life of devotion to his Lord that we shall remember longest and cherish most. The chapel was the heart and

⁴ George Kinkead, letter of March 5, 1947.

⁵ J. V. Butler, letter of August, 1944.

center of the life of the college. This was the Throne Room of the Eternal God. And no man entered and remained unconscious of the fact. There were many services each day. They could so easily have been dull, tedious routine. But not with the warden in his place. When he said, 'The Lord is in His holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him,' somehow it was not a 'call to worship,' but a statement of fact, and before that fact the heart stood still that God might speak. When at intercessions he would say, 'Let us pray,' there was nothing else to do but *pray*, for the door of the holy of holies was opened and our eyes could see the glory within. When he, the priest, stood before the altar and said, 'Lift up your hearts,' it was indeed a dull and earthbound heart which was not lifted up to behold the King in His beauty."⁶

Rhinelander had made it quite clear to the men, even before they arrived, that the sermon lay at the center of the educational purpose of the College of Preachers. For this reason each man was asked to send in two sermons with which the warden, or the leader of the conference, or one of the permanent staff might become familiar before the time of criticism. Fortunate was the man who had the warden for his critic! He would meet his man in two ways —one in a cathedral chapel where he would listen to the sermon preached from a pulpit with one or two additional critics; the other the personal interview in his study. As Rhinelander was already familiar with the content of the sermon he was thoroughly prepared. After the chapel sermon the listeners would, on the spot, discuss subject, method, and delivery. In the warden's study the procedure

⁶ Rt. Rev. Noble C. Powell, in memorial address.

was naturally more informal and personal. Not only the general effect of the sermon, but the religious experience and ideas that lay behind it, the preacher's personal conviction, and, frequently, problems that had nothing to do with the sermon, would be the subjects of the conference. In other words, at such a time Rhinelander had a way of getting at the bottom of the preacher's life. And although the Bishop may have torn the sermon to pieces, calling attention to spelling, punctuation, sentence construction, development of thought and other fundamentals, the man invariably came away aware that he had been with a friend who wanted to help him, and, through him, the people of his congregation. One of the remarkable consequences of these interviews was that even after the men went home, and had settled down again to their parish work, they would send in their sermons for criticism.

Although the sermon criticism was the climax of the conference for each man, information proper to effective preaching was essential. For this reason, Bishop Rhinelander, with his assistants, encouraged the men who had passed through the college to read and to read systematically. Beginning slowly, placing worth-while books within easy reach of the men while they were in residence, filling the shelves with only such books as would be of value, and then giving each man a list of the books he might borrow, until, toward the end of his wardenship, about four hundred books a month went out from the college. There was plenty of evidence that the books were read.

Furthermore, each of the conference leaders would be reminded that whatever he said must have some practical application to the preaching function. Some of the lecture

subjects will make this quite clear: The Old Testament and Modern Preaching, Preaching Church History, Preaching Theology, Expository Preaching of the New Testament, Doctrinal Preaching Today. Other subjects will indicate that the warden paid very strict attention to the background of preaching and revealed his strong conviction that good preaching is a natural consequence of familiarity with religious and theological fundamentals—for example: Evolution and the Incarnation, Christianity as the Fulfillment of Religion, Religious Belief and the Present Situation in Science and Philosophy, the Christian Ideal of Family and Home. Rhinelander's own training lay behind these recommendations. He had tried them and found them essential. One could not hear him preach without knowing that his background was good.

Bishop Rhinelander watched his men—even more than they suspected. Now and then a careless or a trivial man would appear. Unless he gave promise of changing his ways, he never came again. On the other hand, industrious and thoughtful men were invited more than once, especially men whose effective influence in the home parish was well known to the warden. Certain men of promise along definite lines of thought might be appointed Fellows. Such an appointment meant that they were to come to the College of Preachers for a period of two successive months, study a definite subject, write a thesis on it, and while they were so occupied, write and preach sermons, and subject themselves and their sermons to thorough and frequent criticism. Owing to Rhinelander's foresight and planning there are now many such Fellows scattered throughout the country, each a center of idealism in re-

gard to the possibilities of preaching and each with a somewhat contagious influence. To be appointed a Fellow is an honor coveted by many, enjoyed by few. The appointment carries with it an obligation to personify the ideals of the college.

Conferences, although primarily intended for the parochial clergy, were not confined to them. The preoccupation of the clergy with especially heavy duties in Advent and Lent offered opportunity for conferences consisting wholly of the laity, who were drawn from all parts of the country. Excellent leaders were provided. Among others was William C. Sturgis, an intimate friend of the Rhinelander and director of St. Martin's House, Bernardsville, New Jersey—an institution somewhat similar to the College of Preachers, but intended for laymen only. At convenient times, also, Bishop Rhinelander invited members of similar departments in the theological schools to come to the college for a few days to make a comparative study of their methods: deans of theological schools and examining chaplains to revise and improve the requirements for canonical examinations; and groups of bishops for a few days of retreat and discussion of vital problems. In other words, Rhinelander had the welfare of the Church actively in mind from mid-September to mid-June of each year, so that by the time of his retirement the college had become a vital center of ecclesiastical and religious thought, and a point from which there passed out into the Church revived intelligence and devotion. The Bishop's personality lay at the heart of it all.

As the spirit of the college in Rhinelander's day is recalled, it is remembered as a rather extraordinary combi-

nation of action and tranquillity. There is no doubt about the action, for, with the exception of an hour or two after luncheon, the men worked and worked hard from the time of getting out of bed until the time of getting into it. The leaders especially were allowed little time for recreation, hardly time for a nap—lectures, conferences, sermon-reading and sermon-criticism, and, by no means of least importance, private talks with individuals on subjects of personal moment. And yet throughout the college the spirit of tranquillity prevailed. To quote John Wesley, "everyone was in haste, but no one was in a hurry." Although Bishop Rhinelander was fairly high-strung, of a somewhat nervous temperament, fully occupied, he gave the impression of one who had plenty of time to give to anyone who wanted a part of it. He passed from one task to another in a mood of friendly leisure. Whether the contagion passed from him to his associates, or from them to him, or whether there were streams of peaceful influence going both ways all the time, one can not tell. But there it was. It filled the college.

Everything was always ready a little ahead of time—the perfect guarantee of peace. One came down to breakfast and there found Mr. Osterhout, the steward (in whose hands rested the preparation of the meals and the care of the rooms and building), glancing at his paper, chatting with the early risers, well ahead of his duties. His assistants would have everything in readiness, never a hasty step, nor a belated movement. The night watchman, Mr. Talbutt, would make his rounds with punctilious precision; but he would stop for a chat and bring one a late glass of delicious

milk and a few biscuits, as if there was no such thing as fire hazard or prowling thief.

Bishop Rhinelander's private secretary, Miss Beck, had plenty to do. The click of her typewriter could be heard all day long. But she was quick to stop and help in many a convenient way. Dr. Niver, the librarian, and his assistant, Mrs. Wormeley, were fully occupied in writing to competent persons asking for titles of new and useful books, choosing and buying the books, sending them out to the graduates and receiving them again. But who has not felt that they were ready at any time to sit down and talk about books, or about anything else that concerned the college? The Rev. George Kinkead, the chaplain for most of Rhinelander's term of office, who, next to the warden, was in authority, with manifold duties of a supervisory sort, was at one's beck and call, even well on into the night. The staff carried on from day to day tranquilly and in good temper. And each of them thought well of the warden. They knew that his imagination carried him over into their duties, making him thoughtful and sympathetic. He was grateful and he did not fail to say so at the right time. They were happy to work with him, and they knew that he was happy to work with them. One of them has written: "His deeply spiritual nature and his devotion to his Master drew all with whom he came in contact to him. The high ideal which he held up to those of us who knew him (and, indeed, by which he lived) made a deep and lasting impression on me."

Bishop Freeman, as Bishop of Washington, was, of course, the official head of the College of Preachers, just as he was, by virtue of his position, the head of every diocesan depart-

ment. The duties of his office brought him into close contact with Bishop Rhinelander in so far as the policies of the college were concerned. The relationship was free and frank. Bishop Freeman was usually nearby, as he had an office in the college. The larger interests might easily be laid before him. While he allowed the warden freedom in arranging the details of his own department, and while, from the outset, he had expected the warden to initiate the larger policies, he kept in close touch with such issues as might affect the cathedral policies as a whole. The association resulted, here and there, in a genial compromise; again, here and there, in a friendly concession on the part of the one or the other. The apparent nonpartisan aspect of the type of service in the college chapel and the selection of either temporary or permanent members of the college staff were, at least in a measure, the consequence of this frank and friendly association. Bishop Freeman and Bishop Rhinelander were unlike in temperament, Churchmanship, and theology. The former was a man of some wisdom in the practical conduct of affairs, but he was neither theologian nor ecclesiologist; the latter was both theologian and ecclesiologist, one who looked at all questions from the theoretical and historical points of view. The relationship was, therefore, rather wholesome, although from time to time it seemed as if neither fully understood the other. But each expressed frequently to the other his gratitude for the kind of contribution that each, temperamentally, was making to the college.

This personal contact also went over into the policies of the Washington Cathedral, for Bishop Rhinelander was also a member of the cathedral chapter and active on its

committees. Acting well within his right, he would recommend clergy for the cathedral staff, and his recommendations would be carefully considered by Bishop Freeman, not always with assent. Rhinelander would discuss in conversation and by letter customs prevailing in the conduct of cathedral practices and services.

On the matter of the Reserved Sacrament, Bishop Rhinelander made it quite clear that the rubric directing that if any elements remained after Communion they should be reverently consumed, and not carried out of the Church, had nothing to do with reservation, but rather with "the evil practice of incumbents taking [the elements] away with them out of the church for the personal use of themselves and their friends."

With regard to the principal services of the cathedral, Rhinelander laid down certain principles for consideration by the Bishop: "In matters of ceremonial, the era of ignorant partisanship has largely passed by. In its place is coming a new and deeper appreciation of the essential ministry of beauty in public worship. This is as true among our Non-Conformist brethren as among ourselves and is altogether a hopeful sign. Unfortunately many of the developments have been ill-considered and directed more by sentiment than by knowledge and good taste. So there is great and promising need that at the Cathedral the ceremonial actually in use should be a worthy and well grounded demonstration of the 'holiness of beauty.' It is, I think, indisputably true that the ceremonial of Christian worship has been, and may become again, one of the noblest of the fine arts, if not the noblest of them all."

Again: "At the same time, at the Cathedral there should

not be a rigid and meticulous form in the ceremonial used except at the high altar at the chief Eucharistic service of each Sunday. That should represent the established standard of our Cathedral worship, changed if at all only gradually and for the purpose of developing more fully its essential principles and purposes. At the other altars, however, there should be a much greater freedom in both directions, so that the differing groups of people, coming to the Cathedral, as I hope they will, more and more with their priest in their company, may be free to worship in the way to which they have been accustomed, letting the influence of the Cathedral unconsciously guide and influence them to what might well prove to be, for them, a more satisfactory method of spiritual expression. It is only, I think, in some such way as this that the Cathedral can become at once the Mother Church of the Diocese and the spiritual training school of both clergy and people. Although I have thought much about these matters, this present expression of my views is rather hastily put down; however, I do think it represents the substance of what I feel very deeply. I should greatly enjoy a chance of talking it over with you."

After an exchange of letters (a common custom between them, although their offices were under the same roof) Rhinelander added, "May I be impudent enough to suggest that if, as you say, you wish 'to abolish eccentricities and individual usages,' the present ceremonial at the Cathedral would not be a bad place to start with."

Bishop Rhinelander also had definite convictions in regard to memorials and eulogies: "I like the old traditional, almost invariable, sentence at the head of all such inscrip-

tions: 'To The Glory of God' or 'To the greater Glory of God.' Both I think occur with almost equal frequency. The Triune Name seems neither appropriate nor necessary in this context where brevity is most desirable and effective. Neither do I like, except in very rare cases, any eulogy of the deceased. It is, I think, purely a modern practice and indicates the modern tendency to discount the reality of judgment, or rather to think that men and not God have the final judgment in their hands."

Having been a man of large affairs Rhinelander did not confine himself either to the College of Preachers or the cathedral. His interests and his abilities demanded a wider freedom than the freedom he so richly enjoyed.

As he had kept in touch with his English friends during the earlier years of his life he was to do so to the end. There was a high-minded and lovely loyalty and mutual interest in these letters. While many of them had to do with policies and events of religious importance, in each of them there was a brotherly touch. Robert Ottley, whose lectures on the Incarnation he had attended when he was an undergraduate at Oxford, and who later had become a leader of *Lux Mundi* Churchmen in England, told him in detail about his flourishing family of daughters—their names, and how they were earning their living.

Cosmo Gordon Lang, a Magdalen don in Rhinelander's Oxford days, later Archbishop of York, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, apologized for his tardiness in acknowledging the warden's book *Think Out Your Faith*, and added, "It is exactly the message, which in a feeble way, I am continually trying to give. I am sure that it is along these lines of thinking out what we profess that a

real revival of religion must come. I have been much impressed by the crispness, clearness, and force of your book. I need not tell you how deeply I have been impressed by the proposed College of Preachers . . . and I was very glad to hear of the very large sum which has been put at your disposal for carrying out your ideal. The Bishop of Aberdeen was much impressed by what he heard from you when he was in the United States, and he has put his own ideals, for something of the same kind in this country, before me, and I have been trying for some months to get time to bring the matter before the Bishops of England, but here the difficulties are very great and I doubt whether much will be done." This letter was written from York.

In another, written not long after his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Lang regretted the death of the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, enclosed a list of the principal committees of the forthcoming Lambeth Conference, and added, "I would be very grateful for your private and confidential advice as to any Bishops whom you think specially qualified to deal with any of these subjects"; and later during the conference, "There are many of us like myself who miss your presence and your help. . . . Certainly the spirit of fellowship seems to be strong and real and particularly marked in the case of Bishops of your Church all of whom I hope to see here in the house [Lambeth Palace] before the Conference closes. We were much impressed by what the Bishop of Washington had to tell us about your College of Preachers and the wonderful generosity of the gift which enabled the College to be built and endowed and the way in which your own gifts seemed to be providentially ready for this great

work. I was sorry to hear that you seem to be a good deal distressed by your heart trouble, but I know you will be careful and that God will keep your spirit high and true."

Archbishop Lang wrote from York telling Bishop Rhinelander that he probably could not think of a visit to this country until problems in regard to the revision of the English Book of Common Prayer had been settled: "It is quite impossible for me to say what the situation here will be in 1928. A great deal depends on the fortunes of our Prayer Book Measure, which is now approaching Parliament. If through any unkind fate either House was to take the grave responsibility of rejecting the Measure, a crisis would occur of great magnitude which would occupy our thoughts for 1928, and a good many years after. If as I hope Parliament will not take such a responsibility there will be a great deal to do in adjusting the life of the Church to the new terms."

Bishop Rhinelander's old tutor, Thomas B. Strong, who at the time of writing was Bishop of Oxford, touched the same critical problem. After encouraging Rhinelander and his family to visit him at Cuddesden, he added "Things are very tiresome just now in the relation of Church and State. I fancy that the House of Commons expects that if they reject our proposals again we shall acquiesce. I do not think this is likely, but I do not, of course, know. If this happens there is sure to be a row. I have never really been happy over the Establishment, and I have expected that something would arise to force the question forward. I did not expect that it would come in this way. Establishment is, I think, a survival—it exists nowhere in the world in this form."

While William Temple, late Archbishop of Canterbury, was Archbishop of York, he visited the College of Preachers and took an active part in its proceedings. While returning on his ship he wrote to Rhinelander, "Our whole visit has been one long delight, but the days at the College of Preachers are, for me, one of the 'peaks.' It was an especially enjoyable time, and I hope useful." The following year he repeated the opinion, "My days at the college stand out in memory as the best part of my very delightful stay in the States."

These letters are only some of many showing how closely Rhinelander kept in touch with his English friends, how eager he was to associate them with the college, and how sympathetically he watched the progress of their major interests.

Within a year or two of Bishop Rhinelander's retirement, Bishop Freeman and he had some frank correspondence (and, doubtless, conversation) on the subject. By the mid-thirties, Bishop Freeman realized that the cathedral staff was in a rather precarious condition physically. He himself was approaching seventy; three of his associates were in their middle sixties and each had some physical handicap. The Bishop, relative to the efficient dispatch of the work, knew that shortly younger and stronger men were essential. His conferences with Bishop Rhinelander extended over about a year and a half. In the meantime, Bishop Freeman's suggestion was that the dean of the cathedral and the warden of the college should retire and each accept the title of dean or warden emeritus. The dean's attitude toward this plan is not our concern; the warden dealt with it with some unselfish wisdom. His

reply to the bishop shows that he could objectify his own interests and those of the College of Preachers—not an easy thing to do when one's heart is so deeply enlisted: "I am anxious, as always, to co-operate with you in the work of the College. As you know, I have been ready to resign as Warden when it seemed to you, the Chapter and myself, that the work had grown beyond my capacity and strength. Up to this time, however, as far as I know, there has been very general, and perhaps increasing, satisfaction expressed by all concerned in the standing and progress of the College. As for myself, my health has seemed sufficiently good under careful direction to justify my continuance as Warden. You know how greatly I enjoy the work. I note also that your letter does not suggest that you have anyone in mind to take my place. Under these circumstances I can see no useful purpose served in making me 'Warden Emeritus.' From my fairly broad experience in such matters I think it would set a really bad precedent. My relations to the new Warden when he comes should be personal and not in any sense official. He should find the place ready for occupancy without encumbrances! I shall welcome the utmost frankness, not only on your part, but on the part of all who have so loyally and fruitfully co-operated with us at the College. I think in all these years its chief strength has been in free and frank counsel given and received. Personally I have had a sense of 'guidance' rather than a desire to put things over 'on my own'! This has given me more than anything else confidence that we were building wisely."

In another letter on the same subject Rhinelander wrote: "Meanwhile, I would say this to make my position clear

and, I hope, acceptable: while I am willing to make way for a new Warden, resigning my office at the time of his election, I should not be willing to be made Warden Emeritus any more than I should be willing to be made Bishop Emeritus of Pennsylvania! Is not this reasonable as well as natural, and does it not nearly, if not altogether, fall in with your views?"

Loving the College of Preachers more than he loved himself, he decided to retire at the end of the 1936-37 session. Although he was not yet seventy, and although he was mentally as vigorous as ever, he knew that a younger and physically stronger man should take his place. It was a self-sacrificial act, for more than a parish, more than a school, more than a diocese, the college was of his own making. He was giving up a part of himself. Never again was he to feel quite himself. Such is the price an unselfish man has to pay when he lays down his work and withdraws into retirement. He had given of his best; he had realized his dream; he had touched the life of the Church; he had been the "servant of the servants of God"—so much so that one who knew him well could write: "I sincerely believe that no Bishop in the history of the Episcopal Church has meant more to the rank and file of our priests and the bishops who as priests came under his profound spiritual influence."

Not long after his retirement as warden of the College of Preachers, Bishop Rhinelander wrote:

"In July last I resigned as Warden. So my look into the future must be unofficial. This may diminish its interest and importance, but it sets me free to write without reserve. No one will be bound by what I say."

"My hopes for the College are grouped under three heads. First, that it will keep, as its controlling aim, the strengthening and purifying of the spiritual life of our younger clergy. Intellectual ability, readiness of speech, personal attractiveness, all good gifts of God, may be hindrances, not helps, in the ministry unless those who have them 'walk in the Spirit' day by day. This is the primary lesson taught by my experience of ministry and ministers. I think the Associates of the College have now learned it for themselves. Their example and influence will greatly help.

"Secondly, that the College will follow its present selective policy, and with increasing emphasis. Quality, not quantity; depth rather than breadth, should be its hallmark. The 'short term Fellows,' now numbering nearly twenty, with six or nine to be added every year, should play a more and more important role. They represent the College at its best. They will set its standards and maintain its ideals. They should form an intimate fellowship of 'alumni,' meeting at the College at frequent intervals and sharing in its councils. It is through them that the College may hope to do its best work for the Church.

"Thirdly, that the watchword of the College, through all the years, may be the great word 'catholic,' in its true sense as in the creeds, with no qualifying adjectives or adverbs, rescued from all partisan and controversial uses. Catholicity means much more than 'tolerance'; more than 'comprehensiveness'; more even than what is implied in the Vincentian rule, *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*. It stands for wholeness over against partialness. It is opposed to disproportion, distortion, dislocation. These have brought

distress, disunity and weakness on the Church, grievously hindering its mission.

"True catholicity denies or overlooks not one single item or aspect of the grace and truth which came by our Lord. On the contrary its very genius is to conserve them all, giving each part its full significance by keeping it in close inter-relation with all the other parts in the one whole. Catholicity is set against the ruthless, intemperate judgment which insists on the sharp alternative of 'either . . . or.' Rather, in its experienced wisdom and inclusive love, it tells us that the true Christian formula for faith and practice is more likely to be 'both . . . and.' Men come to us out of every section, association, tradition of the Church. Many of them say that the College has given them a wholly new sense of what unity within the Church may mean. If so, it is because we have tried to declare, with St. Paul, 'the whole counsel of God,' not merely those fragments of it which have laid hold of the minds and imaginations of groups or individuals.

"The College can have no higher mission, for the good of the whole Church, than to follow this guiding principle of the great catholic Apostle to the Gentiles, with a due measure of his fearlessness and faithfulness."

Retirement did not mean Rhinelander's complete withdrawal from the activities of the College of Preachers. His successor was not only a good friend, but, having been on Bishop Rhinelander's informal advisory council, he was thoroughly familiar with the condition and policies of the college. The two were in frequent and sympathetic conference.

As the Bishop's sister, Mrs. Rives, died shortly after his

retirement, Dr. Rives asked the Bishop and Mrs. Rhinelander to leave their apartment and live with him. This they gladly did. Like his wife, Dr. Rives was in sympathy with his brother-in-law's religious and theological opinions. He had an admirable library and he was a congenial companion. The happy relationship was not long to last, for Dr. Rives died before many months had passed, leaving to the Bishop his house and other property.

Students at the college, especially the Fellows, easily found their way to the former warden's new home. There they were always given a warm welcome, whether at tea or at an occasional meal. And there the profitable conversations would continue. The Bishop and they would discuss problems of all kinds—even, as one of them has said, books best suited for "a very sensitive woman" preparing for confirmation. And, as another has said, "the Bishop would suggest books for me to read, always fresh and stimulating books I did not know anything about." How characteristic! Bishop Rhinelander had always just read the most significant books—always, right up to the end—and it was hard to resist his contagious, discriminating, and enthusiastic recommendation.

Beyond this continued association with the warden and the students at the college, and in consequence of his approximately fifteen years in the wardenship, Bishop Rhinelander had literally hundreds of friends among the clergy. With many of these he kept in contact, assisting and encouraging in any way he might. His retirement did not remove him from these stimulating friendships—friendships that were shot through with confidence in the Church and its ministry.

In the summer of 1939, Bishop Rhinelander and his wife went to their seaside home in East Gloucester, Massachusetts. At that time he was far from well, with hardly strength enough to enjoy his garden. Surrounded by those who loved him most, he died on September twenty-first.

* * * * *

On the fifteenth anniversary of the dedication of the College of Preachers, a memorial service was held in the college chapel on November 14, 1944. The memorial address was made by the Bishop of Maryland, the Rt. Rev. Noble Cilley Powell, D.D., Bishop Rhinelander's successor as warden of the college. At the close of the service, the Bishop of Washington, the Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, D.D., unveiled a memorial tablet and said: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, I do hallow and dedicate this tablet to the Glory of God and in loving memory of Philip Mercer Rhinelander. May the Lord bless us and prosper our handiwork upon us, both now and evermore. Amen."—

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF
THE LIFE AND WORK OF
PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER
D.D., D.C.L., L.L.D.
1869-1939
BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA 1911-1923
FIRST WARDEN
OF THE COLLEGE OF PREACHERS
UNDER WHOSE HAND THE WORK OF THIS
INSTITUTION TOOK FORM AND WAS
ESTABLISHED FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF
THE PREACHING OFFICE IN THE CHURCH
HE TENDED THE LAMP OF TRUTH ENABLING
MEN TO SEE THINGS ETERNAL AND TO
DISCIPLINE THEMSELVES FOR EFFECTIVE
MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF THE
LIVING GOD

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